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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE

Church in Great Britain

BY THE REV.

WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D.

FELLOW TUTOR AND PRECENTOR OF S. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF ELY

RIVINGTONS

34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*

LONDON

1900

PREFATORY NOTE

THE difficulty in writing a short history of a large subject is one of compression. I would ask those who read this book to believe that the author is conscious of the difficulty, and feels that some may disagree with him both for what he has inserted and what he has omitted. But I have endeavoured to preserve throughout one aim, that of telling the story of the Church of England, that body recognised throughout our national history by the law and custom of the Constitution as a great institution with a continuous life, and the story of the Church in Scotland in communion therewith. Much of the greatest interest in relation to other religious bodies both in England and Scotland is thus omitted, but with no desire of disparagement or lack of knowledge of its importance.

My best thanks are due to my friends the Rev. S. Leslie Ollard, M.A., of Holy Trinity, Hastings, and

Mr. Herbert Bruce, B.A., both formerly scholars of S. John's College, the former for his great kindness in reading my proofs and giving me valuable suggestions, the latter for other help with the book in the midst of a busy term.

W. H. HUTTON.

S. John's College, Oxford,
S. Catherine's Day, 1899.

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THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The Church has had a longer life than any other institution in our land. Before the English came to Britain the Church of Christ was planted there. Before there was one ruler over the land there was one Church to teach and guide the people. The National Church has grown with the growth of the British and English peoples till from small beginnings she has spread, wherever our kinsmen have gone, over the whole world. The Church in England.

The Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, founded on the day of Pentecost, is inspired by the Holy Spirit to meet the new needs of each successive age. The truth revealed once for all is adapted continually to the changing circumstances of national life. The Church uses new means to spread her teaching, and begins new works of mercy and love as new calls are made upon her by each generation.

The Church of Christ is not a machine, but a Body into which God has breathed the breath of life. When we trace her growth in our own land we remember that that growth is directed by the Holy Spirit, and that it will lead, even though it be through failure and by unknown and unwelcome ways, to the perfect light of life. The Church of England is part of the one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church of which we speak in the creeds, and she traces her mission to her Divine Master.

The beginnings of the Church in Britain are to be found when

the Romans were rulers of the country. We have no certain knowledge of how Christianity was first preached in our land. There is nothing to connect it directly with any of the apostles: most likely it came first from Gaul, with the Roman soldiers or the rich governors or other settlers on our southern shores. It is not until the beginning of the third century A.D. that we know for certain that there were Christians in Britain. Then some of the early Fathers of the Church mention that the lands of the Britons were 'subjugated to Christ.' We know no more than that the Church in Britain was planted through the Romans, and had become known to distant lands.

The beginning of the Church.

It is in the fourth century that we first hear, on what is probably sound evidence, of the name of a British Christian. Near where the town of S. Albans now stands there was a Roman camp, and there a soldier saved the life of a Christian priest, and from him learnt the faith of Christ. He was ordered to deny Christ, and do sacrifice to the Roman gods. He refused, and was martyred. His name was Alban, and some say (probably it is a mistake) that he had a companion named Amphibalus. On the place where he suffered, then called Verulamium, rose in later years a town and a great abbey which took its name from him. The persecution in which Alban was martyred soon passed away, and the number of Christians rapidly increased. In 314 three British bishops, with a priest and deacon, attended a church council at Arles, in southern Gaul. These bishops came from York, London, and Lincoln, all important cities in the fourth century. A few years later British bishops attended other councils (Sardica, 343; Ariminum, 359). Christian inscriptions survive in Dorset, Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, at Cirencester and at Bath; and there were certainly Christian churches at Silchester and at Canterbury while the Romans still ruled the land.

Saint Alban.[1]

Early in the fifth century the Romans abandoned Britain. They left behind them an organised civilisation and a Christian Church which had spread to Cornwall and Wales, and was soon to extend its influence across the Tyne. The Church was in union with the Church over sea. It received and taught the Catholic faith,

[1] He is commemorated in the Kalendar of the English Church on June 17.

one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, and the great bishop and defender of the faith, Saint Athanasius, declared that it was loyal to the truth. At this time, too, Saint Ninian (about 390), a native of Cumbria (Cumberland, or Galloway), who had studied at Rome, preached to the Picts of Galloway, and built a stone church on a promontory in Wigtownshire, which came to be called after it Whithern (*Candida Casa*). He was the first missionary to what is now Scotland. More doubtful is the mission of Saint Patrick to the Irish a few years before. But at the beginning of the fifth century a new teaching arose among the British Christians. Morgan, a Briton, called afterwards Pelagius, began a heresy denying the necessity of divine grace. Though he did not himself teach in Britain, he had many followers of British race; and the bishops sent over to Gaul for help to resist the false doctrine. In 429 there came Saint Germanus of Auxerre and Saint Lupus of Troyes, who preached 'in churches, in streets, in the country and the byways,' and a year later won a victory over the pagans and the heretics by the fervour with which their followers raised the Easter cry of Alleluia. The mission of Saint Germanus was repeated in 447, and from that time Pelagianism, which had taken root chiefly among the Goidels (the earliest Celtic inhabitants of our land, who had before this been driven back to Wales and to the mountain districts by the Brythons, or later Celtic wave) rapidly died out. The Christian Church, thus confirmed in the faith, was in its organisation tribal, like all the Celtic institutions. Christianity spread from monasteries, and these themselves were regarded as tribes of priests. Thus it was narrow, and not well adapted for missionary work. When new invaders, who were heathens, came to the land, it was not strong enough to stand against them, still less to win them to Christ.

The British Church.

Already Britain was well known across the channel. It had been one of the chief corn-producing lands of the Roman Empire. It had been known and described by great Roman generals. It had been to some extent colonised by foreigners from all parts of Europe. It was well known to foreign bishops, and among these some, such as Saint Germanus, were men of great secular eminence as well as ecclesiastical authority.

The English Conquest.

Probably some Teutonic settlers had already made their home in Britain, when about 449 a great invasion of three tribes, the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, began. In a few years nearly the whole of Britain south of the Firth of Forth was conquered. The newcomers were heathens, and Christianity was everywhere overthrown where they had power.

But the Church survived in the parts where the invaders could not penetrate. There were islands of Christianity among the heathen conquerors. And Wales, Cornwall, Devon, and northwards between Clyde and Derwent, and Derwent and Dee, there stretched large districts where the faith was preserved unharmed. This time, indeed, in Wales is called the age of saints, chief of whom was Saint David ;[1] and some sites of churches have been preserved from that day. But there was much violence and crime, and, in the words of Gildas, himself a British monk, Britain had a multitude of priests, but they were foolish, too often stained with sin, 'rarely offering the sacrifice [the Holy Communion], and never standing among the altars with pure hearts.' Nevertheless, this was the age of the foundation of the Welsh bishoprics and of the great monasteries. Bangor and S. Asaph's, S. David's and Llandaff, and Llandafarn (which last was united to S. David's in the sixth century) represented the tribal divisions, and became the dioceses of the British Church in what is now Wales. Cornwall was split off from Wales, but it retained its Christianity in much the same form as when the withdrawal of the Romans ended the close communication with the Continent. Some of the Cornish Brythons fled to Gaul, founding Brittany. But the Church organisation with its bishops continued in Cornwall and West Devon.

Survival of the Church.

In the north the Church was always closely connected with Ireland, and the settlement of the Scots from that country in the land of the Picts soon brought many missionaries from the island to spread the work of S. Ninian. In the sixth century Saint Kentigern (Mungo) founded schools of Christian priests, is said to have been Bishop of Glasgow, and died about 603. His influence can be traced over Cumberland and South

S. Mungo.

[1] S. David is commemorated in the Kalendar of the English Church on March 1.

Scotland, where many churches, including the cathedral of Glasgow, are dedicated to him. But the great work of conversion was begun by S. Columba, who arrived in Scotland in 563. He revived the work begun by S. Ninian, imparting to it the characteristics of the Celtic Christianity in which he had been brought up.

Irish Christianity.

The Irish monasteries were closely connected with the clans, and absorbed many of the ancient customs of the people. The abbat, as head of the family, ruled over all the inmates, including the bishops, who were generally attached to monasteries. The clergy outside the monasteries were frequently married, but the chief power in the Church lay always in the hands of monks. In their hands, too, lay all the education of the country, and Ireland was already famous for its schools.

The mission of Saint Columba.

Columba was probably taught at the great school of Moville by S. Finnian, who was himself a pupil of S. David, and who had also taught at Whithern, the house founded by S. Ninian. Probably through some tribal quarrels in which as a prominent member of one of the greatest clans he was concerned, he determined to devote himself to missionary work among his kindred who had crossed over to North Britain, and among the still pagan Picts who were their neighbours. In 563 he landed in the island now called Iona, which was on the borders of the Scottish and Pictish power, and there he set up a monastery, built a church, and founded a school. From thence he passed to the mainland, and engaged in active missionary work. Monasteries sprang up in many of the western islands, as well as in Scotland itself. When he passed over to Ireland to attend a council of the Church, 'his company was forty priests, twenty bishops of noble worth, for the psalm-singing without dispute thirty deacons, fifty sons (*i.e.* young men).' After more than thirty years of labour among the poor, the sick, and the heathen, he was called to rest in 597. With his last breath he enjoined his monks to have peace among themselves. His biographer, Adamnan, brought up some years after in his school, was told that the old white horse of the monastery seemed to know and lament his coming death, and the saint blessed it before he died. His last work was the writing out of a psalm, and the last words

he wrote were, 'They that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.' The monastery was continued down to the time of Adamnan, who died about 704, after whose day the monks were expelled by the Picts.

Missions like S. Columba's spread to foreign lands. About 573 Columbanus passed from Ireland through Britain to Gaul, and began a great work of conversion among the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Lombards.

But so far none of the branches of the Celtic Church had attempted to convert the heathens who had overrun the greater part of Britain. Late in the sixth century a king named Æthelberht ruled over the men of Kent. Already it is probable that he had had intercourse with foreign Christians. His wife Bercta was a daughter of the king of the West Franks, and had with her a Christian bishop named Ludhard. And the Bishop of Rome, Gregory the Great,[1] had already begun to plan the conversion of the English. About the year 587 he had seen in the streets of Rome some fair-haired stranger lads, and, struck by their beauty, asked from whence they came. He was told from Britain, and that the people of that land were still pagans. They were Angles from the land called Deira (which is now Yorkshire). 'They are not Angles,' he said, 'but Angels; and truly are they *de ira*, plucked from wrath and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the king of that province named?' he asked. 'Aelli,' was the answer; and he, playing on the name, replied, 'Alleluia; the praise of God the Creator should be sung in those parts.' He at once begged of the Pope that he might himself lead a mission to the distant land. He was refused; but he kept the design in his heart, and when he himself became Pope in 590, he set about it, sending preachers with his alms and prayers for the conversion of the English.

The conversion of the English.

But it was not to Deira that the missionaries came. Gregory had already heard that 'the English nation, by God's favour, desired to become Christian,' and the chiefest kingdom of the English was Kent, already associated with Gaul through the marriage of its king. Augustine, a monk, was the leader of

[1] S. Gregory is commemorated in the Kalendar of the English Church on March 12.

the mission, and with him were some forty others. Commended by the Pope to the good offices of the Frankish bishops, who provided them with some priests as interpreters, he passed in safety through Gaul, and landed at Richborough sometime in the spring of 597. Augustine sent to tell the king of his coming, and Æthelberht came to the Isle of Thanet, after a few days, to receive him. He sat in the open air, according to an ancient superstition which feared magical arts within doors. But the only magic of the missionaries was the inspiration of God. Carrying for standard a silver cross and the image of the Saviour painted on a panel, and singing a litany, they drew near, and then at the king's command they sat and preached to him the word of life. He listened gladly and bade them welcome to his city, giving them leave to preach. So they drew nigh to Canterbury, where the church of S. Martin outside the walls was still used for the Christian worship which the queen and her bishop attended. As they went they carried the same signs of their faith, and they sang, 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, let Thy fury and Thy wrath be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia.' There at S. Martin's they tarried till Æthelberht himself received baptism on Whitsun Eve, June 1, 597.

The coming of Augustine.

From the king's conversion Christianity made rapid progress. Augustine received consecration as archbishop of the English at the hands of Vergilius of Arles. At Christmas he baptized more than ten thousand converts. He received from Gregory the pallium ('a sort of scarf, worn loosely round the neck, and resting on the shoulders, with one of its ends falling to the front and the other to the back of the wearer'), a sign of personal favour which was already beginning to be regarded as conferring, with the sanction of the imperial government, some special authority. In 601 he also received more helpers for his work, with books and church ornaments, and the Pope's directions for the organisation of the Church of the English. These directions, which involved the creation of two territorial archbishoprics at London and York, each with twelve bishops under them, were disregarded. Augustine had asked the Pope's advice on many matters, but none the less he felt strong enough to act for himself. He began the building

of a cathedral and other churches at Canterbury, and he consecrated two bishops—Mellitus for the East Saxons, who then held London, and Justus for the northern part of Kent, with Rochester for his cathedral city.

The newly-founded Church of the English was cut off by a great mass of heathen peoples from the northern missions of the Scottish saints. But Augustine was anxious to join hands with the British Churches of the West. The Brythons, whom the English called Welshmen, or foreigners, were now divided into three—the men of Cumbria, of the West—that is, the land of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall—and of the land which soon came to be known distinctively as Wales. The first and the last of these were outside the reach of Augustine, but he met seven bishops with others from West Wales (Cornwall) on the border of their territory, and that of the Hwiccas (men of Gloucester and Worcester) and of the West Saxons. The meeting was near Cricklade, very likely at a place still called The Oak at Down Ampney. Augustine wished the Brythons to join him in the conversion of the whole land, but, offended by what they thought to be his pride, they 'would not cast off their old customs.' Not unnaturally they regarded him as an intruder. They said they would not do any of the things he asked, nor would they have him as their archbishop. Thus the three British Churches, separated by Teutonic conquests, continued apart from the Church of the English. Cumbria and Cornwall gradually drew nearer to their English neighbours, but Wales itself remained for centuries the home of a Church hostile to her younger sister.

The English and British Churches.

We have now to see what were the customs to which the Britons clung so loyally. The tribal character of their Church organisation still lasted among them as it did among the Scots of Ireland, though it was abandoned by Columba and his companions when they settled among peoples to whom they were not akin. But besides this there were matters in which they differed from all Western Christendom. These were the manner in which the clergy tonsured their heads, and the time of keeping Easter, which the Celtic Churches calculated by an old and incorrect reckoning. This matter kept the Churches apart till nearly a century after the landing of Augustine.

In 604 the apostle of the English died, having accomplished a

great work, the beginning of the English Church. The foundation was nobly laid, but the structure was not to endure without peril. Before his death he consecrated Lawrence to be his successor as archbishop. Death of Augustine.[1]

Lawrence tried anew to make union with the Celtic Churches, but the customs in which they stood apart from the rest of Christendom still stood in the way, and the British 'regarded the Christianity of the English as a thing of nought.' Under Æthelberht's successor Eadbald the Church was despised. Among the East Saxons, too, the kings returned to heathenism, yet they demanded 'the white bread' of the Eucharist which Mellitus had given to their father. 'If you are willing,' said the bishop, 'to be washed in the font of holy regeneration, then you may also partake of the holy bread of life of which he used to partake; but if you despise the laver of life, you can by no means receive the bread of life.' The young kings drove him from their land, and for nearly forty years London and Essex fell away from Christ. Alarmed by the signs of a revival of heathenism, Justus, as well as Mellitus, fled over sea; but Lawrence remained, and before long, in answer to his prayers, Eadbald of Kent 'gave himself up in good earnest to the divine precepts.' Mellitus and Justus were called back from Gaul, and when Lawrence died in 619, the former became the third archbishop of English, and, dying in 624, was succeeded by Justus.

Till the death of Augustine the Church of the English had been within narrow bounds. In East Anglia (Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire) the king Raedwald had been baptized, but he was but a half-Christian at best. At his court was sheltered Eadwine, a prince of Northumbrian race, the son of Ælle of Deira, whose name had so struck the great Gregory. To him one night appeared a mysterious visitor 'signed with the mark of Christ,' who prophesied that he should be restored to his father's kingdom. And so it came to pass. Raedwald led an army against the usurpers, and entirely defeated them at Retford, 617. Eadwine became king of all Northumbria. To this he added the Christian land of Loidis (the lower part of The conversion of Northumbria.

[1] He is commemorated in the Kalendar of the English Church on May 26.

the valleys of the Calne, Aire, and Wharfe), and marrying Æthelburh, the daughter of Eadbald of Kent, he received with her the Christian missionary Paulinus, who, it is very likely, may have been years before the prophet of his good fortune. In 625 Paulinus, who had been one of the companions of Augustine, was consecrated to be bishop for the men whom he hoped to convert, and thus Gregory's scheme for a province of York was brought nearer to realisation. He was 'tall but slightly stooping, with black hair, a thin face, an aquiline nose, an aspect both venerable and awe-inspiring, a man whose power was soon felt.' He reminded Eadwine of the mysterious promise, and of the perils he had since then survived. 'See,' he said, 'you have escaped those dangers; see, you have been raised to this kingship: delay no longer to embrace the faith and precepts of Him Who wrought your deliverance and granted your exaltation.' Then the wise men of Deira assembled at Goodmanham, near York, and before them Paulinus preached the faith of Christ. The chief priest of the pagan worship, Coifi, said that his old faith was worth nothing, for it had done nought for him. Then spoke an ealdorman seeking a clue for the mystery of life. Life, he said, was to them in their heathen days as a sparrow that flies through the warmed and lighted hall on a winter night: so is the brief span of life, for man knows not whence it comes or whither it goes. If the strange teacher could tell, then let them hear him. And so it was that the words of Paulinus struck conviction to the hearts of the wise men, and the priest Coifi was the first to begin the destruction of the heathen temples.

Now the kingdom of Eadwine stretched from the Forth, where his town of Edinburgh was built, to the Humber, and he was overlord of a great part of Britain. To him the Brythons of Strathclyde had bowed, and the isles of Man and Mona (Anglesey) were also under his sway. He bore the title *Bretwalda*, which showed the submission of the British races. In his day, men said, good peace was kept, and a woman with her babe could walk unscathed from sea to sea. Under his protection the Church spread more quickly than in any other part of the land. Paulinus fixed his see at York, where he set up a stone church for his cathedral. Over all the southern part of this kingdom,

The kingdom of Eadwine.

Yorkshire, Northumberland, as far as the Tweed, and through the northern dales, Paulinus for six years went about preaching and baptizing. He crossed the Humber, too, and preached in Lindsey, winning the men of Lincoln (where the church of S. Paul above the hill still recalls his name) to Christ, and in that city consecrating Honorius, on the death of Justus, to be the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, 628. In Nottinghamshire, also, Paulinus preached, and he baptized a large company of people in the Trent, probably at Littleborough, where a Roman road crossed the river. From the influence of his king Eadwine, too, the faith spread among the East Angles, to whom Christ was preached by Felix, a Burgundian, who became Bishop of Dunwich. Felix was joined by Fursey, an Irish monk, and thus the Celtic Church began to give its aid in the conversion of the English.

But the power of Eadwine in 632 met with a terrible destruction. Cadwallon, the Christian king of Gwynned (North Wales) allied with Penda, the heathen king of the Mid-English (Mercia), overthrew and slew the Northumbrians at Heathfield (Hatfield, Yorkshire), and spared neither women nor children, slaying Christians as well as pagans. Paulinus fled to preserve the life of the widowed Christian queen. Thus the land fell again into the hands of the Brythons. Its rulers were still Christians, but they had no sympathy with the Church of the English folk. For more than two years the power of Cadwallon lasted.

'For parts of the years 633, 634, and 635, two hundred years after the first coming of the English as conquerors, and many years after the complete establishment of all the seven kingdoms of the English, the Britons reconquered the largest part of all, Northumbria, and that kingdom was actually ruled over by a Christian British king, representing the Christianity of the British Church. The ancient race and Church which the pagan English had hemmed in among the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Cumbria had now broken its bonds. Its warriors covered once more the plains of Yorkshire and the hill country of Durham and Northumberland and the fertile land of the Lothians, where for so long the Britons had flourished before the Angles came and carved out the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira.'

But the Northumbrian Christians preserved their faith. James

the Deacon, a companion of Paulinus, held on near Catterick on the Bernician border; and in 635 Oswald, a prince of the old Northumbrian race, defeated Cadwallon at Heavenfield, near Hexham, and reunited the kingdoms under himself as a Christian king of Northumbrian blood, though not of Eadwine's line.

Neither church nor altar nor cross remained in all Bernicia. Oswald had been trained among the northern missionaries from Ireland, with whom he had lived at Iona. To them he sent for help to revive the drooping spirits of the Christians who had suffered sorely under the rule of Cadwallon and his heathen ally. He was eager that 'the whole of the people whose king he had become should be imbued with the grace of Christian belief,' and, himself a saint, he 'took great pains to build up and enlarge the Church of Christ,' so that under him 'the number of the faithful increased.' But it was not until he received from Iona the holy Aidan, who treated them 'as infants in the faith, feeding them with the milk of easier doctrine,' that the harsh Northumbrians turned readily to Christ. The power over Northumbria was now wielded from its northern part. Eadwine had ruled at York, the old Roman city, and it was in Deira that Paulinus's chief work had been done. Oswald dwelt at Bamborough, in the great rock fortress which towers above the sea, whence he could watch the morning sun shining on the little monastery at Lindisfarne, the 'Holy Island' where Aidan placed his bishop's seat.

King Oswald and Saint Aidan.

The life of Aidan was in itself a perpetual instruction in righteousness. As he taught, so he lived. Endued with the grace of a singular discretion, he preserved the friendship alike of king, monks, nobles, and the poor. On foot he set out for his long missionary journeys, and when the king gave him a horse he bestowed it on the first poor man he met. He was a student as well as a missionary; every day he and his companions read the Scriptures, and learnt the psalms by heart, and he had a school of young English boys, whom he trained for the work of priests.

Among these were two who became famous, Eata, abbat of Melrose, where S. Cuthbert was brought up, and S. Ceadda (Chad),[1] the apostle of the Midlands. For sixteen years Aidan

[1] He is commemorated in the English Church on March 2.

continued his work, ascetic, devoted, but the friend of Oswald the king and saint. Oswald learnt from Aidan much of his practical Christian life, his charity to the poor, which gave him the name of the fair, or free, hand. 'May this hand never decay,' said Aidan, grasping the king's right hand after one of his generous Easter gifts to the poor.

In 642 the fellow-work of king and bishop was ended by Oswald's death in battle with the heathen Penda at Maserfield, in the Midlands. He died with a prayer for the souls of his men on his lips. The Church reverenced him as a martyr, and even believed that miracles were wrought by his relics. Churches were dedicated in his name all over England. After him Oswiu ruled in Bernicia, where the savage Penda penetrated even to the walls of Bamborough. Aidan in his retreat at the Farne Islands saw the fire and smoke of the besiegers' attack, and cried, 'See, Lord, the harm that Penda doth.' Then the wind changed, drove back the flames in the faces of the heathen, and ended the siege of the fortress, which they found impregnable.

While Oswiu ruled in Bernicia Oswin was king of Deira. He was like Oswald, a kingly saint, tall, graceful, gracious, most bountiful to all, whether noble or simple folk, beloved by all for his royal qualities of body and mind, but among all his virtues famous most of all for his humility. With him, as with Oswald, though now he lived himself under another ruler, Aidan worked for Christ, and when in 651 Oswin was slain by order of Oswiu, Aidan, within sixteen days, followed him to rest.

S. Oswin.

S. Aidan died by the church of Bamborough, where the present church still bears his name. He was buried at Lindisfarne, where he had laid the head of S. Oswald. His successor as bishop was Finan, who likewise had come from Iona, and kept up the Celtic customs. The Northern Church was now strong in all the lands north of the Humber. Hilda, a princess of the Northumbrian house, had set up a convent at Hartlepool, and afterwards at Streoneshalch (Whitby), where men and women in two houses lived a life of peace and love, 'so that after the pattern of the primitive Church, no one there was rich and no one was poor, but all had all things in common, for nothing seemed to be the property of any one person.' Whitby became the most famous

The northern monasteries.

of the convents. There many ladies of high degree were trained to the service of God. Hilda herself was great-niece of King Eadwine, and had been converted by Paulinus, and was professed as a nun by S. Aidan. All that knew her called her Mother, for her singular piety and grace. Her prudence was so great that not only men of meaner rank, but kings and princes would ask and receive her advice. Of the men whom she trained to a religious life five became bishops, and among them was the famous Wilfrith. At Whitby, too, was the brother Caedmon, the first of poets in the English tongue, who sang 'the beginning of created things,' and the story of the redemption of man by Christ.

Whitby.

Scarcely less famous was the house of Melrose, on the Tweed, where Aidan's pupil Eata, 'the gentlest and sweetest man in the world,' was abbat, and where S. Cuthbert, who was so wisely to follow in the steps of S. Aidan, came to train himself for the work of God.

Melrose.

While the Northern Church, holding still to the customs of the Irish missionaries, and looking for its guidance to Iona, was thus establishing the Church on the foundation of Paulinus in Northumbria, the faith was spreading in lands till now untouched by missionary effort. In 634 Birinus began the conversion of Wessex, starting from neither Canterbury nor York, but as a missionary bishop who had the sanction of Pope Honorius for his work. The West Saxon King Kynegils was baptized at Dorchester, near Oxford: his daughter married Saint Oswald, and the two kings together established Birinus as bishop in that place. In East Anglia, too, the faith was spreading, and monasteries were rising there among the fens. The conversion of the Mid-English was begun when Peada, son of the heathen Penda, sought the hand of Oswiu's daughter in marriage, and became himself a Christian in 653; and a year later Cedd, the chief of the missionaries in Mercia, went on into Essex, having been consecrated bishop by Finan, the successor of S. Aidan at Lindisfarne. At length, in 655, Penda was killed in an invasion of Northumbria, and from that day there was no English king who did not call upon the name of Christ.

Wessex.

East Anglia.

Mercia.

It was time that the Churches of the North and South should

meet and agree to sink their differences in a common work. In 661 S. Finan died, and his successor was Colman, under whom many monasteries followed the rules of Iona. S. Wilfrith of Ripon, who had had his first training at Lindisfarne, but had learnt both at Canterbury and in Rome the Catholic customs of the whole Western Church, urged upon Alchfrith, the sub-king of Deira, the importance of unity with the southern bishops.

It was resolved that the heads of both Churches should meet at Hilda's monastery of Whitby. There Oswiu with Alchfrith heard Colman and Wilfrith debate on the customs that kept them apart. Cedd was the interpreter, being himself of Scottish origin, but a bishop among the East Saxons. Wilfrith appealed to the authority of Rome and S. Peter, and the appeal carried the day. Colman claimed to follow the custom of S. John, but Oswiu preferred to follow the custom which was said to come from him of whom Christ said, 'On this rock I will build My Church.'

The Synod of Whitby, 664.

Most of the Scottish clergy immediately accepted the decision, and foremost among them was Cedd. But Colman with his monks went back to Ireland. The Synod of Whitby united the Church of the English with the Church of the Celts. Celtic Christianity was too narrow, too exclusively tribal, too monastic, to weld together the different peoples of the island. From the influences of the Church abroad came a more compact organisation, and the sympathy of the great fellowship 'dispersed throughout the whole world.' The work of Augustine was completed by the union which he had failed to win. The submission of the north was followed, though slowly, by the submission of the other Celtic Churches. Early in the eighth century both the British Christians under the rule of the West Saxons and the Church of Cumbria or Strathclyde adopted the Catholic faith. Cornwall held out, but within two centuries was entirely united to the English Church.

It must not be thought that the Easter question was only an unimportant matter of dates. It concerned the life of the people very closely. It was found that in the court of the Northumbrian king, his wife, who had been brought to follow the Western rule, was fasting for Holy Week, while Oswiu himself was keeping Easter by the Celtic date. And indeed the question was still

more important for the future ; it was whether the English Church 'should link her fortunes with those of the declining and loosely compacted Irish Church,' or with those of the whole foreign Church with which she must more and more be brought into contact. The noblest testimony to the work of the Scottish missionaries comes from Bede, the historian of the English. 'How great was his simplicity,' he says of Colman, 'how great his self-restraint the very place which they governed shows for himself and his predecessors, for at their departing there were found very few houses besides the Church : indeed, no more than were barely sufficient for their daily life. They had no money, but only cattle ; for if they received any money from rich persons they immediately gave it to the poor ; there being no need to gather money or provide houses for the entertainment of the great men of the world ; for such never resorted to the Church, except to pray and hear the word of God. The king himself, when opportunity was, would come with only five or six thegns, and depart when prayer in the church was over. But if they happened to take a repast there they were satisfied with the plain and daily food of the brethren, and needed no more ; for the whole care of these teachers was to serve God, not the world.'

Thus by the Synod of Whitby the guidance of the Church in Britain passed into the hands of the priests, who followed the customs of Western Christendom. The monasteries of North England were still ruled by men trained among the Scots, but they accepted the usages of the South. The northern mission had done its work. It had planted the Church in the affection of the people, and it had taught, through monasticism, the simple virtues of the Christian life.

The Scottish mission had left behind it two noble men to carry on its great work, Cuthbert, prior of Melrose, and Chad (Ceadda), abbat of Lastingham.

The life of Cuthbert is one of the most beautiful pictures which the early historians have left us. Cuthbert, 'the man of God who bowed his head to the monastic yoke,' was a tall athletic lad, fond, like his countrymen, of wrestling and all active sports, living among shepherds till the day when a vision, on the night of S. Aidan's death, summoned him to the

S. Cuthbert.

life of a monk. Led by the fame of its prior, Boisil, who was missionary as well as monk, he chose Melrose rather than Lindisfarne for his place of training. With Eata the abbat, he went to Ripon when King Alchfrith gave the Scottish monks a house there, but when the Western rules were adopted they all returned to Melrose. After Boisil's death Cuthbert became prior. He then began to preach outside the monastery, taking long journeys on horse or on foot. 'Now it was the custom in those days for the English people, when a clerk or priest came to a village, that all at his command flocked to hear the word, willingly hearkened to what was said, and still more willingly followed up by works what they heard or understood.' So into the most remote valleys, and by the wildest and most dreary hill-passes, Cuthbert toiled, often with only one boy for companion, seeking everywhere for the 'sheep that were unshepherded,' and winning them by his eloquence, his eagerness, and the glowing expression of his 'angel face,' so that many came to him confessing their sins, and bringing forth worthy fruits of penance. In 664 he was transferred to Lindisfarne, where the abbey was also the cathedral church. There he accepted the Southern customs, agreed upon at Whitby, and devoted himself to the tasks of manual labour as well as of prayer, which the monks there followed. Twelve years later he withdrew to one of the lonely Farne islands, where Aidan also had been wont to make retreat, and built himself a solitary dwelling, and, as men thought, even the birds and the sea ministered to his needs. In 685 he was chosen bishop, in spite of his own great reluctance. 'He protected the flock committed to his charge by constant prayer, and called them to the things of heaven by constant admonitions,' and 'he showed the way by being the first to practise what he taught himself.' He still observed the strict austerity of the monastic life. He used the power of his office to deliver the oppressed and to protect the poor and needy. His influence was always for peace, and when King Ecgfrith went on his last disastrous campaign against the Picts it was against his warnings, and his presentiment of evil revealed to him, on the day of the battle, the destruction of the king and of the stalwart companions who fell around him. Two years later, in 687, Cuthbert himself fell sick. He died at his solitary hermitage on Farne, bearing a long illness

with great patience, and entreating his monks to preserve the Catholic customs and the unity that had been won at Whitby. Receiving the Holy Sacrament at the hands of the monk who afterwards wrote his life, his 'soul intent on heavenly praises, departed to the joys of heaven,' while the monks were singing in the early morning the words: 'O God, Thou hast cast us off and scattered us abroad: Thou hast also been displeased, O turn Thee unto us again.' He was buried on Holy Island, whence his body was in later days taken to the great church of Durham that was named in his honour.

As Saint Cuthbert was the Saint of the North, so was Saint Chad the Saint of the Midlands. Brought up by S. Aidan, then trained in Ireland, learned in the Scriptures, and diligent in obeying them, Chad ruled over the monastery with its wooden church at Lastingham, on the wild moors by Pickering, where there seemed, till he came, 'to have been haunts of robbery and lairs of wild beasts rather than dwellings of men.' He was consecrated in 666 as bishop for 'Oswiu and his,' having his seat at York. He went to Bishop Wini of Winchester for consecration, and with him as consecrators were two bishops of British race from Cornwall. Like his master S. Aidan, he went about on foot through his diocese. But after three years, this 'servant of God,' when Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, told him that his consecration by British bishops to a see which interfered with the jurisdiction of Wilfrith was irregular, gave up his see and went back to Lastingham. But in 669 he was called again from his seclusion to be a bishop for the Mercians. He set his see at Lichfield, where there rose the fair cathedral that was to preside over the later diocese. Giving himself eagerly to missionary work, he caught the plague then so common among the poor, and after a short rule of great sanctity and devotion, he died on March 2, 672, ending 'gloriously' a life of 'glorious' labour.

S. Chad.

At the last he summoned to him the clergy who lived with him, and said: 'My time is nigh at hand; that lovable guest [the angel of death] who used to evict our brethren has come to me to-day. Go back to the church, and bid the brethren commend to the Lord my departure, and also remember to prepare for their own, the hour of which they know not.' He was buried in the

church he had built, but his body was afterwards translated to the church of S. Peter, also in Lichfield.

The days of Cuthbert and Chad were days of great work in the English Church; and more prominent than either of these two saints were Wilfrith of Ripon and Theodore of Tarsus. Wilfrith's career was a stormy one. Brought up in his early years at the court of Northumbria, he was sent as a boy to be taught at Lindisfarne. Then he visited Rome, and on his return he was nearly murdered with the Archbishop of Lyons, but when the murderers heard that he was an Englishman they spared his life. Alchfrith welcomed him warmly when he came back to England, and made him abbat of Ripon, when Eata and his monks, with Cuthbert among them, went back to Melrose. At Whitby, as we have seen, Wilfrith was the chief advocate of the Western views. 'The Easter which we keep,' he said, 'we saw kept by all at Rome, where the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, lived, taught, suffered, and were buried.' All through his life he retained his veneration for Rome, and sought to walk according to the customs that he had seen there. So good was his rule at Ripon that Alchfrith soon procured his consecration as bishop. He was consecrated at Compiègne in Gaul, and when he came back he found that Chad was acting as bishop for all the Northumbrians, those who had been under Alchfrith, now dead, as well as the subjects of his father Oswin. Thus when he returned he found that his place was filled, and he for a time did work as bishop in Kent. At this time the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant, and the kings of Northumbria and Kent consulted how to fill the post. An English priest, Wighard, was chosen by the election and consent of the holy Church of the race of the English. He was sent to Rome to be consecrated, because the kings feared to revive the contest about the Scottish customs which had made Wilfrith before seek consecration outside all influence of the Celts. Wighard died before he could be consecrated. Then the Pope chose to fill his place Theodore, a Greek of Tarsus in Cilicia, who was a monk, not yet ordained subdeacon, and already sixty-six years of age. He was consecrated by Pope Octavian on March 26, 668, the first Archbishop of Canterbury ever consecrated by a Pope, and the last for five hundred years. Taking with him Hadrian, a learned African abbat, and Benedict Biscop, the companion of

Wilfrith, he travelled through Gaul, and came to Canterbury on May 27, 669. Everywhere he was received with joy and with submission. He was the first to whom all the churches of the English gave obedience. At Canterbury he himself gave lectures on the Scriptures and taught church music: but he soon began a visitation of all parts of England, leaving Benedict Biscop to conduct the school at Canterbury. He consecrated new bishops, and those who had been consecrated according to the rules of the Scots or Britons, such as Chad, he again confirmed by the laying on of hands. He insisted that all should be taught in English the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. He held, too, at Hertford, in 673, the first Council of the Church of the English. This drew up canons (rules for the Church) as to the governing of the churches and monasteries, ordering an increase of bishops. It made no reference to Rome for authority or example. He restored Wilfrith also to the see of York, to rule over all Northumbria.

Wilfrith became a great church-builder, founding the churches of Hexham and York as well as that of Ripon. But in 678 a quarrel broke out between him and King Ecgfrith of Northumbria, partly, it would seem, because of his support of the queen Etheldreda in her desire to become a nun, partly because of his desire to recover the great gifts of property made to him at Ripon and Hexham. For whatever reason, in 678 he was driven forth by the king, and two new bishops were consecrated for Northumbria in his stead. Wilfrith went at once to Rome to claim the intervention of the Pope. It was a great position of which he was deprived. His abbey of Hexham was grander than all the nine monasteries of which he was 'father and patron,' and indeed all others in England, and the church (of which the small crypt, with the two Roman inscriptions, preserved by being built into the walls, still survives) was finer than any, contemporaries said, on this side of the Alps. Besides this, he began the building of York Minster, and the churches of Jarrow, Ripon, and Monkwearmouth still contain remains of the work of his day. Not only was he thus famous for his ecclesiastical grandeur, but he was high, so long as Oswin lived, in the favour of the king, and even Ecgfrith submitted that his wife should receive the veil from his hands: he was surrounded

The expulsion of Wilfrith.

by learned men, by statesmen as well as ecclesiastics. But the very nearness of his position to that of the king caused his fall. When Etheldreda,[1] after tarrying some years at the abbey of Coldingham, fled at her husband's approach to reclaim her, she went to the Isle of Ely, where her own land lay, and founded there the great house which became the precursor of the splendid cathedral, he was deprived of such protection as her friendship could afford him. When Archbishop Theodore, on his visit to Northumbria, decided upon the necessity of three other bishoprics, it was plain that even if Wilfrith returned, his power must be much curtailed.

Pope Agatho, to whom Wilfrith went for aid, had claimed for the see of Rome powers over the whole world, and had called himself (contrary to the writings of the great Saint Gregory) Universal Bishop. He summoned a council of Roman bishops and priests, who declared that Wilfrith had been unjustly deprived by Theodore, and that the three bishops whom the archbishop had consecrated must be allowed no power. With this decision of the Pope Wilfrith returned to Northumbria. The Pope's letter was read before the king Ecgfrith and his wise men, who paid no heed to it, and they imprisoned Wilfrith for nine months. Nor did Archbishop Theodore heed the Pope's injunctions. He still further subdivided the northern diocese by making a bishopric of Hexham as well as of Lindisfarne, and another for the Picts, whose see was fixed at Abercorn, on the south side of the Forth. Wilfrith was released after nine months, and then went to convert the South Saxons. There was among them a Scottish missionary named Dicuil, who had established a small monastery at Bosham near Chichester: the South Saxon king gave Wilfrith land for a house at Selsey. Out of these two monasteries there grew up the bishopric of Chichester. Hardly had Wilfrith's work begun to tell before Sussex was conquered by the West Saxons. The Isle of Wight, conquered by them in 686, then received the faith 'after all the provinces of Britain had embraced it.'

The power of Wessex was already spreading over all South England. In 658 it had conquered to the 'Isle of Avalon,' where Glastonbury was the greatest and oldest of all the British monasteries, 'the one famous holy place of the conquered Briton which

[1] She is commemorated on October 17.

had lived through the English Conquest.' There within a few years was planted a community of West Saxon monks, who preserved the fame and the traditions of the ancient place, which it was said had been visited by Joseph of Arimathaea. From thence the influence of the conquerors pressed on even within the borders of the kingdoms that were still British, and before 680 a West Saxon monastery was founded at Exeter, which was to train the English Winfrid, who became the apostle of the Germans.

Meanwhile, Theodore had continued his great work of organisation. In 680 he held the second provincial synod of the English Church at Hatfield. Theodore had brought to the English a new influence which neither Augustine nor Aidan had given, the influence of the Eastern Church; and he was alive to the false teaching which was then spreading in the East. The English Church in this council formally accepted the 'five holy and universal synods' (that is, the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople I., Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople II.), and declared its belief in the Two Wills of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the 'procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.' This second meeting of a council of the English Church showed how firmly rooted was the organisation which Theodore, by his rule and his constant inspection, had set up. He had taught to the English kingdoms that unity among the different tribes could be attained, and that with it came strength; and the councils of Hertford, 673, and Hatfield, 680, were the precursors of the present convocations of the provinces of Canterbury and York, which still govern the English Church.

The Council of Hatfield, 680.

Wilfrith's long missionary work, the peaceable settlement of the north under bishops such as the holy Cuthbert, and the death of Ecgfrith, Wilfrith's personal enemy, in 685, made it possible for Archbishop Theodore to welcome back the dispossessed bishop to his northern see. He wrote to the new king of Northumbria, Aldfrith, asking him to give back his property to Wilfrith, and he was restored to the bishopric of York, as it had been limited by Archbishop Theodore in 678. The Roman decrees were not regarded, but Wilfrith returned to the north, and received back the property which the kings before had given to him.

Restoration of Wilfrith.

In 690 died the greatest of our early bishops. Theodore, who had lived the greater part of his life as a scholar and a monk, came in his old age to rule a Church that was divided by customs and by races. He gave to the Church, by the foundation of schools, the beginnings of the learning which soon made the English scholars famous in Europe. In his time the English bishoprics grew from seven to seventeen, and the dioceses remained much as he left them till Henry VIII. added more. His great work was to teach the value of organisation to the English State as well as to the English Church. Coming from Rome he yet had a wider outlook, and he felt that his work was to make the Church so strong that it would not need to look outside England for rule or guidance. 'Before this,' says the great English Chronicle, 'the bishops had been Romanish; henceforth they were English.'

Death of Theodore, 690.

Theodore died at the age of eighty-eight. Wilfrith was thirty-two years younger, and his stormy life was not yet over. Again a question of property, the separation of Ripon, the church which he had built, from his see, and the division of the northern sees, were the causes of another dispute with the king. In 691 he was again exiled. He remained in Mercia, where he was Bishop of Leicester till 705. Again he appealed to Rome. An English council heard his complaint before Aldfrith, the Northumbrian king, and Brihtwald, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, and refused to allow him thus to seek foreign aid. 'Now he is guilty,' they said, 'we must condemn him because he chooses their judgment rather than ours.' He went to Rome, and Pope John VI. interfered on his behalf, but only to refer the whole dispute to an English council, from which, if there was no clear result, resort should be had to Rome. He warned the English bishops not to forget what had been decreed by Pope Agatho. But to this King Aldfrith paid no heed. It was not till after his death that Wilfrith was restored, and then he was restored only to the abbeys of Hexham and Ripon. In 705 John of Beverley, Bishop of Hexham, was sent to York, and then Wilfrith became Bishop of Hexham, and ruled till his death in 709. So ended the career of S. Wilfrith, a man much beloved by those who knew him well, but much opposed by those who

The last years of Wilfrith.

resented the claims he was never slow to assert. In his life for the first time we see English statesmen, supported by bishops, contending with an ecclesiastic who claimed special privileges. Neither Wilfrith's sanctity, nor the papal threats, availed to turn the English churchmen from what they believed to be right.

The age of Wilfrith was one when the Church was very highly esteemed. The laws of Ini in Wessex and Wihtred in Kent showed very special reference to the commands of Christ and the rules of the Church, and great privileges were allowed to the clergy. It was a time too of many gifts to the churches, of the building of many monasteries, and of great influence exercised by holy men. S. John of Beverley, Bishop of Hexham, who had been one of Theodore's scholars at Canterbury, was long remembered in the northern dales, and S. Guthlac, who lived as a hermit at Crowland in the fen country, and whom the wild birds came to know as a friend. 'Have you never read,' he said, when one wondered to see swallows sitting on his arms, 'that to him who is joined to God in a pure spirit all things join themselves in God?' So S. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, who, when he was abbat of Malmesbury, would draw the people to hear him as he sat on the bridge and sang lays to win them to holy thoughts, endeared himself to thousands by his charity and wisdom. England sent out also great missionaries to foreign lands, such as the saintly Winfrid,[1] who became, as Boniface, the apostle of Germany.

An age of saints.

In the eighth century the fame of the English Church as a home of learning was spread widely abroad through the life of Alcuin. He was born at York in 735, and long studied in the school of that city. Learned not only in theology (for he was a stout defender of the Church against the false teaching of the Adoptionists, who taught that our Lord Jesus Christ was not truly God) but also in the ancient classics, he was chosen by the Emperor Charles the Great, in 781, to found a school in his palace, of which he retained the charge till 796, when he retired to his abbey of Tours. To him was due the great revival of learning which marked the age of Charles the Great, which restored the intellectual and moral power of the Church, and strengthened the national govern-

Alcuin.

[1] S. Boniface is commemorated on June 5.

ments by the supply of learned clerks to carry on the affairs of State. Alcuin had learned from the school of Bede's pupil, Ecgberht of York, the lore of the old Irish schools and the classical culture of Rome before it had fallen into the hands of the barbarians. It was this learning which he was able to restore to Europe, then brought to peace by Charles the Great, while it was passing away from England, then torn by intestine wars. Among his correspondents were many kings and all the great prelates of the time. Through Alcuin the Mercian king, Offa, made treaties with the Emperor; and it was at the imperial court that the West Saxon king, Ecgberht, who came in 827 to rule all England, was sheltered and trained as a boy. The names of Boniface and Alcuin made England well known abroad: and it was of the abundance of her store that England contributed to foreign lands. It was an age of great men, by whom the Church of England was advanced to the headship of the kingdoms within the island. It was through such men and their work that the kingdoms were at last united in one.

Before Wilfrith died our first great historian of the English people was a man of middle life. Most of what we know of early English history comes from the writings of a humble scholar saint who was born in 672, and spent nearly all his life in the monastery of Jarrow. Jarrow, like its neighbour Northumbrian house, was founded by Benedict Biscop, and it fostered the best learning and the most holy life of the age. On it 'the civilisation and learning of the eighth century rested.' Bede was its choicest product. Keenly interested in learning, in the organisation of the Church, in political events, in human character, he was most deeply devoted to the service of God in the Church. Quietness in the cloister, and humility and fear in the presence of the holy mysteries of God, were his first thoughts. 'I know that the angels visit the canonical hours of the Church,' he said. 'If I am not there will they not say, Where is Bede?' Next to worship teaching was his chief delight. Many of his pupils rose to eminence, and Ecgberht, the first Archbishop of York, the brother of Eadberht, king of Northumbria, founded a school at York which carried on the work of learning to the next generation in the hands of scholars more famous still.

The Venerable Bede.

The troubles of his time, the destruction of the Northumbrian

power, the restless activity of churchmen such as Wilfrith, spread into the monasteries. Bede turned the troubles to instruction and edification. His history, simple and truthful, was a moral treatise in which he set forth the beauty of holy lives, the insecurity of earthly happiness, and the comfort of the heavenly hope.

The age of Bede.

We learn from Bede how the Church was fixing itself over England in sure dwelling-places. Churches were being built, as well for parishes in the country as for the city. Aidan, Birinus, and Cedd were noted church-builders, and Wilfrith surpassed them in energy, providing also a supply of priests and deacons to serve for each place in the sacred ministry. Laymen began to build and endow churches; monasteries sent out priests to minister in the districts where parishes were not yet established. Tithes were paid to the district or parish churches; but England was not yet fully divided into parishes. This was a very gradual growth of later days.

Religion and learning.

From Bede we learn, too, much of the nature of English life and English religion in the seventh and eighth centuries. It was an age of wars and anarchy, of much corruption in manners, by which clergy as well as laity were touched; it was an age of many pagan survivals and much superstition. But Christianity, largely through the monasteries, where quite young children were placed to be schooled, who afterwards went out and spread among their kinsfolk the knowledge of a life of restraint and devotion, was permeating the whole people. The Church stood forth in its work of conversion with all the dignity of an organised and impressive system. Fasts and festivals were solemnly observed. The Holy Sacrament was offered with prayer for the dead and for the living, was reserved for the dying, and was carried from the altar to the sick. Baptism was prepared for by long and careful instruction and catechising, and was solemnly emphasised by the wearing of white raiment by those recently baptized. Confession of sins before a priest was in use, inscriptions asking prayers for the dead were common. The study of Holy Scripture and the recitation of the Psalms was especially enjoined. Preaching was constant to believers as well as to those still heathen. It is clear, too, that secular learning, as well as religion, was diligently pursued in the monastic schools. Bede had a real

interest in classical literature and in the politics of his own day and of the past. Art flourished. Benedict Biscop and John the Chanter were musicians who brought in the foreign rules and developed the English taste for church music, singing the Gregorian chant. Benedict Biscop went to Gaul and brought thence masons to build a church 'in the style of the Romans' (Romanesque), and workers in glass to fill the windows and porches of the churches. He brought also from Rome a number of sacred pictures. In sculpture the work done in England at this time shows a marked Eastern influence. Great crosses were set up on many famous sites in the north (one especially famous remains at Bewcastle), and a great number of early sculptured stones still remain in many parts of England, Wales, and Cornwall. In these there is a likeness to some of the Lombard work of the same date, as well as to the Greek work which was then so famous.

The remains of this early English work show us that it was through religious art, as well as by preaching and the lives of monks, that men were being taught to look above the life of contention and licence which was the common lot of man. Bede's own life is an illustration of the work which was done by the monasteries to raise and refine the tastes of the people.

Bede was probably born in 672. As a little boy he stood beside Ceolfrith, abbat of Jarrow, when almost all the brethren were carried off by the plague. Vowed to the monastic life from his very early years, he was no doubt first at Wearmouth, and went to Jarrow with Ceolfrith when Benedict Biscop founded that house in 681 or 682. The joint monastery, for so Wearmouth and Jarrow were intended to be, had more than six hundred monks, among them many men of learning. Bede himself was a constant preacher, teacher, and student, and he wrote books on theology and chronology, lives of some of his contemporaries, and the great Church history of the English people. This was a book that not only preserved much of the early history which must otherwise have been lost, but served as a model for all the monastic writers of later days who wrote for us the history of their times. It was written in 731, and in 735

The death of Bede.[1]

[1] He is commemorated by the English Church on May 27.

he died. The account of the last weeks of his life, written by one of his fellow-monks, is one of the most beautiful of our early records. Continually during his growing weakness he gave thanks to God, and continued his work both of writing and of teaching. 'I have lived long,' he said, 'and my merciful Judge has well disposed my life.' He passed the day in gladness till evening—it was the Eve of the Ascension—and then when his boy scribe told him that the last sentence of what he had dictated in the English translation of S. John's Gospel was finished, he echoed the word, and with his head resting in his boy's hands, lying on the floor of his cell, singing the glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he passed into the light.

Between the death of S. Wilfrith and the death of Bede, whom men came to call the Venerable, the Church had grown slowly in the midst of political changes. The Northumbrian kings had changed rapidly: in Wessex there had been fighting, and the murder of princes, and King Ini had gone on pilgrimage to Rome, where he died. But the Church was daily in more close union. Even at Iona the monks had accepted the Western uses, and the old mission-field of S. Ninian, which had lapsed into heathendom, was now settled again under a new bishopric of Whithern.

Bede thought that he closed his eyes on a time of peace; but he saw, too, the signs, which soon became more prominent, that it was everywhere a time of sloth and decay. The power of Northumbria sank, and that of the Midland realm arose in its stead. But the Mercian kings had none of the zeal for righteousness which had been the mark of S. Oswald. Winfrid (S. Boniface), who had not forgotten the land of his birth, Popes who still watched kindly the people who owed their conversion to S. Gregory, wrote to reproach the kings for their evil lives, and the prelates for their slackness in enforcing the discipline of the Church. In 747 Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, held a church council at Cloveshoo. The canons then passed confirm the evidence of the letter written by Bede to Archbishop Ecgberht of York, that already corruption and decay had infected many of the monasteries. The monks had too often cast off their first love, they consorted with buffoons and strolling players, they drank with the thegns and at the country mead-feasts; and Ecgberht

Evil days after Bede's death.

the archbishop, Bede's pupil, in his rules of penitential discipline, shows how great were the temptations which beset the clergy, how sad the falls of which some of them were guilty.

It seemed that the creation of York as an archbishopric might bring discipline more closely home, through the power of an able man, to the Church. Offa, king of Mercia, who secured the overlordship of England during the weakness of Northumbria, tried still further to perfect the Church organisation by creating an archbishopric of Lichfield. To this, in 787, an English council, in the presence of a legate to represent the Pope, consented. But it lasted only sixteen years, and a Pope was as glad to please Kenwulf, Offa's son, by confirming the abolition of the archbishopric as another Pope had been to please Offa by confirming its creation. English Church councils had sought remedies in every direction for the evils of the Church ; but the remedy was to come from without, and, as it seemed, by the visitation of God.

Archbishopric of Lichfield.

United within, the English Church was only gradually becoming united to the British Churches. In Wales the ancient Church still held aloof. The British priests beyond the Severn would give no greeting to Englishmen, or the kiss of peace. 'Up to this day,' writes Bede, 'it is the habit of the Brythons to esteem the faith and religion of the English as a thing of nought, and to hold no more communication with them than with pagans.' To eat with an English priest was thought a defilement, and to join in worship seemed sacrilege. How bitter was the feeling between the Welsh and the English in Church matters in the time of Bede is shown not only by his own severe references, but more forcibly by a letter written by S. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, to the Cornish king Geran in 705. As the representative of a synod of bishops, he gave 'their fatherly suggestion and request that they would be careful not to break the unity of the Catholic Church, nor admit opinions not suiting with the Christian faith, since so doing they would deprive themselves of the future rewards of heaven.' Their form of tonsure, he assured them, came from Simon Magus ; their dissent from the use of Rome, he declared, using the argument of Wilfrith at Whitby, was doing despite to the principal

The Welsh and the English.

S. Aldhelm's letter.

statutes and ordinances of the Church. But while he thus pressed on the Brythons the acceptance of the Western customs, he commented bitterly on the want of charity shown by the priests beyond Severn. 'Puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, they do exceedingly abhor our communion, insomuch that they will neither join in prayer with us in the church nor enter into our company at the table; yea, moreover, the fragments which we leave after a meal they will not touch, but cast them out to be devoured by dogs and unclean swine. The cups also in which we have drunk they will not make use of till they have rubbed and cleansed them with sand or ashes. They refuse all kindly salutation and the kiss of pious brotherhood, contrary to the Apostle's precept. They will not give us water and a towel for our hands, or a vessel to wash our feet.' No doubt this is a highly rhetorical presentation of the case, but it is plain enough that the difficulties in the way of union were serious.

But inevitably the Churches must draw together. Learning, as well as Christian charity, brought them near. The Welsh Church remained quite independent of Rome, or of foreign influence; but within the eighth century Wales accepted the Western rules about Easter and the tonsure, to which the Scots mission had yielded a century before. From the time of Elbod, Bishop of Bangor, who died in 809, the Churches of England and Wales ceased to be at feud. Unfortunately we know very little of the history of Wales at this time. From the era of S. David to the middle of the ninth century, a period of two hundred and fifty years, is almost a blank. This is true of the dioceses of S. David's and S. Asaph; and very little is known of Llandaff or Bangor. Union began with the time of Alfred.

Missions in the North.

In the far north the faith was spreading. Missionaries from Iona, when their work in the south was done, taught the Gospel in the lands of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness, but the supply of priests was scanty, and the work long remained missionary, not parochial. Names of saints survive, such as Saint Baldred, the evangelist of East Lothian, who lived, when he was not on mission, on the great Bass Rock at the entrance to the Forth. The work of the Church proceeded slowly among tribes scarce emerged from barbarism.

Before the end of the eighth century the Church in England and in Scotland was swept by a wave of persecution, which was repeated again and again as the next century began. Hordes of Danes and Norsemen landed on the coasts, burned and murdered and ravaged, withdrew with their plunder to their ships, and sailed away to seek more booty elsewhere. In 789 the English Chronicle tells that 'the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's Church at Lindisfarne.' In 794 Bede's own monastery was sacked. In 795 Iona was attacked, and in 806, when it had recovered, it was again attacked, and sixty-eight of the brethren were murdered.

The coming of the Danes.

Wessex rose into power under Ecgberht, 802, who in twenty-five years made himself overlord of all the kingdoms, but the Danes never ceased their attacks, and in fifty years they had conquered all the north and a great part of the south of England. Everywhere monasteries perished and churches fell before their onslaught. The destruction wrought was terrible. So many of the monasteries were destroyed that over a great part of England the old monastic system was almost extinguished. In the country parishes of the lands where the Danes ravaged or settled, the work of the Churches was stayed, if not relinquished. Some bishoprics ceased to exist; in several the succession of bishops was interrupted for many years. But Wessex made a gallant fight, of which the monks who wrote the English Chronicle tell with patriotic pride; and the destruction of sacred shrines only served to fix the faith more firmly in the hearts of the people. When they were rebuilt every trace of the old sanctuaries was carefully preserved, and often to-day stones that have passed through the fire may be seen in the walls of the churches that were built when the tyranny was overpast. The faith was endeared to the people still more by the memory of the martyrs. Most conspicuous among them was S. Eadmund, king of the East Angles, who, after gallantly defending his land against the Danes, was offered his life if he would be their vice-gerent. Rather than betray his people to the heathen, or deny the name of Christ, he laid down his life. Bound to a tree, he was killed by the arrows of his foes. Men long talked of his heroic

The stand of Wessex.

S. Eadmund the king.[1]

[1] He is commemorated by the English Church on November 20.

end, and preserved the tree where he fell; and in after-days there arose to commemorate his name the abbey and town of Bury S. Edmund's.

While other lands had been captured by the heathen chiefs Wessex had stood firm to the Church. In the midst of the dangers that beset his land, King Æthelwulf in 855 solemnly recognised the national duty of paying tithes for the service of God.

A brighter day came with his son Alfred, who was warrior, scholar, and saint as well as king. Alfred visibly embodied the firm alliance between Church and State which had been begun when in 838, at Kingston, Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, promised to maintain 'firm and unshaken friendship from henceforth for ever,' and had a promise in return of peace and protection from the West Saxon kings. The alliance showed itself in politics as well as in religion. Even bishops appeared in the field, and two of them were slain; and the inevitable result was a decay at once in sound learning and in spiritual fervour. When Alfred came to the throne he set himself to revive both. And the revival was needed. None south of the Thames, he himself says, could understand their service-books in English or translate a Latin letter. North of the Humber there was a little more learning, but not much. From the first Alfred surrounded himself with a court of learned men. Chief among these were the Mercian Plegmund and Asser the Welshman. From Gaul he brought famous teachers, from Mercia, too, and South Wales. Asser was a Welsh monk, already famous for his learning when Alfred sent for him and gave him preferment, raising him eventually to the bishopric of Sherborne, Dorset. There were no good readers in the whole realm of the West Saxons, it was said, till Asser came, and daily Alfred and Asser studied together, till the king could translate from the Latin into his own tongue. Four book she translated for the good of his people: Orosius on Geography, Bede's history of the English Church, Boethius on the Consolations of Philosophy (a beautiful book of half-Christian mysticism greatly admired in the Middle Ages), and the Pastoral Rule of S. Gregory, 'the apostle of the English.' He set up a

Alfred the Great.

His court.

His learning.

school for young nobles under his own eyes: he built and restored monasteries, where in those days it seemed to men that learning and religion were best preserved. Plegmund he made Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him he collected all the old records of the English people, and began the English Chronicle, called the *Book of Winton*, because it was kept at the West Saxon capital. Everywhere he sought to revive learning, and to revive it for the service of God as well as men. Not only did Alfred train learned clergy; he set the example of a pious life. As a boy he had been shown a beautiful manuscript of English poems by his stepmother, who promised the book to whichever of her stepsons should first learn to read and recite it. Alfred was the first to learn, and the love of reading that he then began lasted all his life. He was a musician, too, as well as a scholar. Daily he attended the services of the Church, and he was frequent in prayer and the reading of Holy Scripture. He was none the less a great hunter and a mighty warrior. But before all things he set his duty to God, and then his duty to his people. In his long and steadfast warfare against the Danes it was a religious war that he was fighting. His laws, which brought together those of Wessex and Kent and Mercia, began with an assertion of the law of God, which they set themselves to interpret and follow. The good King Alfred, greatest of our early kings, died on October 25, 899. By his will he freed those who were in serfdom to him, and gave gifts to the churches and the poor. Of Rome, the great city where he had been as a pilgrim in his youth, he said nothing, for the Papacy was now sunk in shameless sin; his thoughts were all for his own land and his own Church. 'I have always striven,' he said, 'during the whole course of my existence to live worthily, and at my death to leave to those who follow me a worthy memorial in my works.'

His learning.

His death, October 25, 899.

It was long before any man bore him so nobly as a Christian before the world. Under his sway the Church rose again to instruct and guide the people, and when he died he left the English land a united Christian nation. Twenty years before, in 878, the north and half the Midlands were split off and recognised to belong to the Danish settlers under their king Guthrum. But he was baptized, and it was not long before Christian teaching

brought the Danes into the Church. It was under Alfred, too, that the British Church in Cornwall, through the influence of Asser, to whom Alfred gave spiritual superintendence of his lands in Cornwall, was brought nearer to unity with the English. This was followed up by Alfred's successors. In 909 a bishopric for Devonshire was founded at Crediton, and missionary centres in Cornwall were given to the see. Eadulf, the new bishop, helped by the campaigns of King Æthelstan, brought the Cornish clergy into the English Church. The native Cornish clergy and bishops still held their posts, but from 931 Cornwall may be reckoned as an English diocese.

But while union was coming in the south, in the north there was for a time a severance. The archbishops of York, save Wulfhere, King Alfred's contemporary, who was in exile for seven years, retained their spiritual power, but were entirely cut off from the English kingdom. Sometimes they opposed the southern kings. Even so late as 952, Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, led a revolt. After being imprisoned for two years, he was given the bishopric of Dorchester. It was not until after the middle of the tenth century that peaceful relations were restored between the northern churchmen and the southern king. It then became the custom to give to the Archbishop of York the bishopric of Worcester also, and this secured the unity of the kingdom. All through these years Northumbria was in an unsettled state. The bishoprics of Hexham and Whithern became extinct. The bishops of Lindisfarne were exiles from Holy Island; in 900 the see was transferred to Chester-le-Street; not till 990 did it settle at Durham, where the bones of S. Cuthbert found rest in the cathedral which a hundred years later rose to be the great architectural glory of the northern shires.

Condition of the Church in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Similar dislocation affected the Church in the Midlands and on the eastern coast. From about 870 for nearly a century there is the greatest uncertainty about the Midland bishoprics. The bishop of Leicester removed his see to Dorchester, near Oxford; the bishopric of Lindsey ceased to exist for a time, and was eventually joined to that of Dorchester. Very little is known even of the great central see of S. Chad. All these events show how near

north and south were to severance. And the east was equally near to isolation. After the martyrdom of S. Eadmund the king, one of the East Anglian sees, Elmham, was in a very insecure position ; and the other, Dunwich, ceased to exist.

Under Alfred's successors the organisation of the south proceeded. In 909 a bishop was consecrated for Ramsbury as well as another for Crediton, and the see of Wells was founded in the same year. It seems probable, too, that at this time some of the Welsh bishops were consecrated at Canterbury, and King Edgar interfered to settle the boundaries of the see of Llandaff. For the next century the friendliness between the Churches in England and Wales was increasing, and was preparing for the more definite union under the Norman kings. A large step had been taken when Edgar himself and the two Eadmunds were buried in the great church of Glastonbury, the sacred shrine of the British Church.

But while union was coming slowly, church organisation was still far from perfect. The parochial system was settled but slowly over all England, and the early English laws show that the tithes which should have belonged to the parish clergy were claimed at times by local magnates for the endowment of the new churches they built, and by monasteries for their work of education. Slowly was the whole land mapped out by the Church.

The history of the Church in Cornwall in the ninth and tenth centuries affords an instance of the very gradual growth of a locally settled episcopate. Bishop Kenstec (*c.* 865) fixed his see at the monastery of Dinurrin (possibly now S. Gerran's) : but it does not seem long to have remained there. Conan, who was bishop in 931 and attended the meetings of Æthelstan's witan, had his bishop's seat at S. German's ; so had Bishop Burhwold in 1018. Three other bishops (*c.* 960-1000) had their sees at Bodmin. But it is very probable that the bishops ruled from their own monasteries, if, as was usually the case, they were monks.

In the extreme north organisation as yet hardly existed, and evangelistic work made but slow progress. Beyond Northumbria the missionaries from Iona had spread the light of the Gospel into the northern regions of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness

but there was as yet no parochial system, and priests were scattered scantily over the land. When Kenneth, who united in himself the blood of the Picts and the Scots, came to rule the land (843), he established, it is said, the ecclesiastical primacy at Dunkeld. Iona, exposed to the ravages of the pirate Norsemen, ceased to be the centre of Church life, and a new order of monks, called in Goidelic Culdees (servants of God), became the chief representatives of the Celtic Church. Their life was much less strict than that of the regular monks. They married, and their abbats had much secular power; but they had little of the missionary zeal of the sons of Iona, and when the monastic revival at length spread northwards, they became organised under the same rules as the secular canons.

In the English Church the next great name after that of Alfred the king is that of Dunstan the saint (924-988). He was the son of a noble of Wessex, and of royal kin. He was sent as a child to the monastic school of Glastonbury, where he was taught by Irish priests, and he was also often at the court of King Æthelstan. As a child he saw visions, which his companions derided; but they were visions which should lead him to great things. His kinsman Ælfeah was then Bishop of Winchester. To him, though after some hesitation, he made profession as a monk, and he then returned to Glastonbury, where he devoted himself to the study of music and mechanical arts. When King Æthelstan died, his brother Eadmund, the new king, made Dunstan one of his counsellors. Falsely accused by jealous nobles, he was near seeking refuge at the court of Otto the Great, the Roman emperor, but Eadmund received him again into favour and made him abbat of Glastonbury. As abbat he reformed and made stricter the life of the monks and clerks, and he surrounded himself with many scholars. King Eadred trusted him with the care of the royal treasure, and left much of the affairs of State in his hand. So great was his reputation for moral courage that when Eadred's young nephew, Eadwig, deserted his own coronation feast to sit with a lady whom he designed, against church rules, to marry, it was Dunstan whom the lords deputed to bring him back to his duty. But the ambitious woman soon procured his disgrace, and he took refuge in Flanders. There he was protected by the count, and he learnt

S. Dunstan.

the strict rule of S. Benedict, which, though drawn up in the sixth century, had not yet been observed in England. On his return to England, after two years' exile, he set himself to introduce the strict observance of the Benedictine rule.

Archbishop Oda of Canterbury, who himself had taken the monastic vows abroad, had now compelled Eadwig to put away the wife whom he had unlawfully married ; and his kingdom had been restricted to the south of the Thames. His brother Edgar was king of the northern shires, and he called Dunstan to his councils, making him before long Bishop of Worcester. In 959 Edgar became king of all England, and Dunstan was raised first to the see of London and then to that of Canterbury. He now became the chief statesman as well as the chief ecclesiastic of the realm. Politically his vigorous administration kept off new attacks of Danes and attached those who were already settled in the north to the English rule. He strengthened the police system throughout the country. His laws protected the poor and the weak, and ordered the release of slaves as a religious duty. He won the affection as well as the obedience of the people, and again united all England under one sway by the solemn recognition of Edgar's wide rule in his coronation at Bath on Whit Sunday, 973, when the Archbishop of York and all the English bishops assisted.

Dunstan as statesman.

As archbishop he was 'a true shepherd.' He gave up all the preferments he had before enjoyed, only visiting Glastonbury occasionally for a time of repose. His friends Æthelwold, now Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, with king Edgar's help, did their utmost to introduce the strictest rule into the monasteries, replacing the clergy of the cathedrals (secular canons) by monks. While there is no doubt that Dunstan sympathised with the movement, because it seemed to him that the interests both of religion and of learning were best served by men who were unmarried and had no worldly ties, he never himself used compulsion, and, indeed, appears to have suffered the married clergy to retain their positions. Abroad there was strong feeling against clerical marriage, and there were many canons passed against it. The danger of the Church falling into the hands of an hereditary class of officials was a real one ; but

As archbishop.

it does not seem to have been much felt in England. Dunstan paid far more heed to the clergy's books than their wives. He made rules, and encouraged schools for the training of priests. He ordered priests to learn handicrafts that they might teach them to others. He ordered that a sermon should be preached in each church every Sunday.

His zeal for moral reform was seen in many canons passed against the abuses of the age, and he did not hesitate to enforce them against the highest in the land. When the Pope ordered him to absolve a great lord whom he had excommunicated for an unlawful marriage, he refused to obey.

Early in the tenth century an illustration of the position occupied by the English Church in relation to Rome, and of the learning of its clergy and their style of preaching, is afforded by the writings of Ælfric, who described himself in his early years as 'a monk and a mass-priest,' and was later on abbat of Abingdon. Of his work, besides educational treatises, eighty sermons, chiefly translated from the Latin, remain. In them he shows clearly that the claims of the Papacy with regard to S. Peter were not accepted in England, and that the English Church taught the spiritual, not corporal, presence of the Lord's Body in the Holy Communion. The English Church differed also from Rome in the fact that many of the clergy were married, and though this was not regarded as lawful, they were not separated from their wives. But in all essential matters the English Church remained in union with the foreign Churches, and retained her ancient reputation for unbroken orthodoxy. This reputation was increased by the fame of S. Dunstan, whose sojourn abroad had served to link English churchmen again to their brothers over sea.

Ælfric.

So long as Edgar lived Dunstan's reformation proceeded unchecked: but on his death the party which supported the married clergy again won the day. Dunstan was for some time in disgrace. The young King Edward was treacherously assassinated by the order of his stepmother while she handed him a 'loving cup' as he was about to ride from Corfe Castle. His dead body, dragged by his horse into Wareham, was in popular legend the cause of miracles.

S. Edward, king and martyr.

From the first the innocent boy was looked on as a martyr.[1] Dunstan had been his supporter, but he had no choice on his death but to crown his half-brother Æthelred as king. From that date, 978, his influence ceased. He caused the translation of the boy-king's body to the minster at Shaftesbury. Then his last years were given to prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, study, and the arts of music and handicraft, which he had practised in his youth. In his old age he was surrounded by many scholars, who loved the gentle old man who taught them always with kindness. To the last he set himself to make peace among all men, to succour the needy, to cherish the young. On May 19, 988, after two days' illness, he passed to his rest, receiving the Holy Sacrament with devout joy, and saying his last words in thanksgiving, 'The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done His marvellous works that He ought to be had in remembrance. He hath given meat unto them that fear him.' His death.[2]

In later years many legends sprang up to disfigure his memory, many of them invented by monks who wished to represent him as a champion of monks against secular clergy. But his fame rests really on his ceaseless services to English political unity, religious purity, and sound learning. He was a statesman, but before all he was a devout and holy bishop. Beautiful tales are told of his simplicity and his love of the beauty of nature and of art. No English prelate before him had been great in so many ways, and when he died, darkness began again to settle over the land.

At the end of the tenth century England was overrun by heathen barbarians. Swegen, the Danish king, invaded, ravaged, conquered. The weak Æthelred could not stand against him and fled (1013), after trying to bribe the invaders to depart. Again the Church gave a martyr to suffer for the people. Ælfeah (S. Alphege), Archbishop of Canterbury, might have saved his life if he would have consented that the poor and the churches should be taxed to ransom him from the Danes. He S. Alphege.[3]

[1] His name is commemorated by the English Church Kalendar on March 18, and the translation of his body to the abbey of Shaftesbury on June 20.

[2] S. Dunstan is commemorated on May 19.

[3] He is commemorated on the day of his martyrdom, April 19.

steadfastly refused, and he was murdered at a heathen feast to which he had been dragged. Thus the English Chronicle, written within eleven years of the day, tells how Saint Alphege died :—

'1012. In this year came Eadric alderman and all the oldest wise men, priest and lay, of the English kin, to London before Easter. Then on the Saturday was the [Danish] host much stirred against the bishop, for that he would not promise them money, and forbade that man should pay anything for him. Also were they very drunken, for that there was wine brought from the south. They took then the bishop and led him to their husting [meeting] on the Sun-eve, the octave of Passover, and him there then pelted with bones and neats' heads, and slew him then one of them with an iron axe on head, that he sank down, and his holy blood on the earth fell, and his holy soul he to God's kingdom sent. And they carried the dead body in the morn to London ; and the bishops Eadnoth and Ælflum and the borough folk him took with all worship and him buried in Saint Paul's minster, and there God now shows forth the holy martyr's might.' Then all the land was ruled by the heathen Swegen. On his father's flight Eadmund, Æthelred's son, held out against the barbarians, but he died, and soon afterwards Canute, the son of Swegen, became sole king.

Canute, born a heathen, about 994, had already been baptized, but it was not till he was king that the influence of religion gradually softened his heart, and he became a consistent Christian and a good ruler. He seems to have set himself to follow in the steps of King Edgar and Archbishop Dunstan. Just as they had not favoured the English at the expense of the Danes, but tried to treat both races with equal favour, so he gave no more favour to his Danish subjects than to the English whom he had come to rule. The cruelty which stained his youth was set aside when he became king of the English people. He became a provident and wise ruler, whose care was to serve God and protect the Church. He began first to restore the monasteries which had been plundered in his own and his father's wars. He reverenced the English king and martyr Eadmund, and built a great church to his memory attached to a monastery which he richly endowed. S. Edward the king, also, he joined in honouring. Church law, too, he added to in the assemblies of his wise men, and he kept

King Canute.

the land as well as the Church at peace. In his later years he made a pilgrimage to Rome, to visit the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul, and from thence he wrote a touching letter to the English people, confessing his past sins, and promising amendment and a strict justice and firm peace for all. He ordered that Peter's pence, originally given by Offa for the support of the English school at Rome, should be carefully paid. But he was not submissive to the Pope. He told him that he was highly displeased that the English archbishops should have to pay so heavily when they went to Rome to receive the *pallium* (a vestment conferred by the Pope on metropolitans, and gradually regarded as a sign of jurisdiction), and it was decreed that this should no longer be done. Canute did not refer to any claims of the Pope to be supreme over the Church, but he paid special reverence to S. Peter because he 'had learned from wise men that he had received great power from God in binding and loosing, and carried the keys of the kingdom of heaven, wherefore,' he said, 'I esteemed it very profitable to seek his special patronage with the Lord.' At Rome Canute found himself given high honour by the emperor and many princes, and he came back having won fame for the English Church and State.

He had taken kindly to the English folk and their Church. He made Englishmen bishops among the Danes, who were then but newly won to Christ. In England he built abbeys and churches, and was good friends with the Archbishop Æthelnoth, and went also to Glastonbury, where was the ancient Church of the British, and gave a charter to the monks, and moved the body of S. Alphege from London to Canterbury. Of his own wisdom the story is told that when his men spoke of his greatness he showed them that the sea would not stand back for his words, and said: 'Ye see how weak is the power of things, and of all men, for ye see that the waves will not hearken to my voice. Honour then God only, and serve Him, for Him do all things obey.'

His work for the Church.

Canute's reign ended in 1035, and from that time a period of sloth and neglect fell upon the Church. Canute's sons were wild and lawless men; ecclesiastical office was bought and sold, and the land was again given to war and tumult.

But in 1042 the heir of the old English line, Edward, the son of

Æthelred, when the Danish kings were dead, was received by all men 'for king, as was his natural right'; and he was crowned at Winchester on Easter Day 1043. His reign proved to be a continual conflict between foreign and English influences. The chief man among the English was Earl Godwine of Wessex, a friend of King Canute's. His sons, the eldest and best of whom was Harold, rose to great power, and his daughter Edith married the king himself. A second party was formed by the Mercian earls, Leofric and his sons Eadwine and Morkere, whose sister, after the death of her first husband, the Welsh king Gruffydd, became the wife of Harold. These two parties were always contending for power, while King Edward gave his thoughts chiefly to Church matters, and sought to stir the English Church to new life by the influence of clergy from Normandy, where he had spent his years of exile.

Edward the Confessor.

Edward, named in later years Confessor for his simple Christian life, was a good man, pious, temperate, gentle, but all through his life he was ruled by others, and his patronage was no real support to the Church. He turned away from the disputes of the English factions, and shut his ears to the national complaints of foreign influence, burying himself in private devotion, and living, so far as was possible, the life of a monk. He founded the great abbey of S. Peter, now called Westminster, where he was buried, and where his shrine still remains. Many of his friends followed his example in building for the Church. Odda, his kinsman, the Western Earl, favoured the monks, and built the church of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, which still stands.

If Edward looked for reformation from abroad, he was not the first to do so. Before his time, yet still more during his reign, the English Church was knitting new bonds with the Church across the sea. Dunstan's residence in Flanders served to link the two lands, which had already formed a political alliance, more closely together. The abbey of Fleury was the great example to the English restorers of monastic rule, and that the interest was reciprocated is shown by the fact that Abbo of Fleury wrote the life of S. Eadmund the king and martyr, of whom he had heard from S. Dunstan. When the English bishops were drawing up canons or penitentials (books of ecclesiastical punishments for sin),

they took them from Frankish books. As two centuries before English missionaries had constantly visited Germany, now pilgrims went to famous shrines and monasteries. In 928 Bishop Kinewold of Worcester went to the German religious houses with gifts from King Æthelstan. This constant intercourse led to a new attempt at reform of the English Church. Harold, Earl Godwine's son, founded at Waltham (1060) a house of twelve secular canons with a dean, who were bound by new vows, were probably married, and were chiefly intended to form a school, the beginning of our modern universities. Harold brought a famous foreign scholar from Lorraine to teach in this school, and his father before him had caused Germans and Lorrainers to be promoted in the English Church. But the nation from whom King Edward sought his friends were new to the English people, or known only as foes. The Normans were hardly yet completely converted to Christianity, yet among them were found the noblest, most zealous, and most highly cultivated of Christian priests. Their religion was strict and orderly, precise like their military training, and enthusiastic as their warlike energy of attack. Above all, in Gaul as in Italy, they were the sworn children of the papal see. To Rome they went for custom and rule on the most minute points, and to the Popes they constantly deferred for guidance, counsel, and command. Edward began to promote Norman clergy almost from the hour of his return. Robert, a monk of Jumièges, became Bishop of London. Another Norman, Ulf, was given the vast see of Dorchester. He went, as was now becoming the custom, to seek confirmation of his appointment from the Pope, and obtained it only by paying a large sum. When he returned to his bishopric, Englishmen said that the king had 'ill bestowed it,' and that the new prelate 'did nought bishoplike.' In 1051, Robert of Jumièges was raised to the see of Canterbury—there had not been a foreign archbishop since just after the Conversion—and another Norman, William, was made Bishop of London in his room; and so strong were the foreigners that Godwine and Harold were forced to fly the land. But next year they came back, and then, says the English Chronicle, 'Archbishop Robert, with Bishop Ulf and their company, went out [from London] at east gate and slew and otherwise maltreated many young men,

Foreign influences.

The Normans.

and then he lighted on a crazy ship and betook himself at once over sea and left his pall and all Christianity here in the country, so as God willed it, as he had before obtained the dignity as God willed it not.' Archbishop Robert appealed to Rome, but the English Witan took no heed, and appointed Stigand Bishop of Worcester to be Archbishop of Canterbury in his room.

But Church law forbade this intrusion into the place of one who, though a foreigner, was lawful archbishop, and men looked on Stigand as an intruder. He received the *pallium* from an unlawful Pope. Foreigners regarded him, and England with him, as in schism ; and even Englishmen would not receive consecration at his hands.

King Edward died on January 5, 1066. Already William, Duke of the Normans, his kinsman, claimed to be his heir, and declared that Earl Harold had sworn to help him to the throne. But the English people, with Archbishop Stigand foremost among them, thought Harold himself the worthiest of all men to be king, and so it came that he was crowned by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, in the new abbey of S. Peter, Westminster, the day after Edward passed away. Harold's reign was short, and in the nine months while he was king, he had no time to think of the Church. But William of Normandy threw himself entirely on the Church for support. The Pope called on all to aid him to win England from men who seemed to him to be traitors and half infidels, who rejected his authority as well as that of the Norman duke.

The reign of Harold.

On October 14, 1066, the Norman invasion was victorious over the men of Wessex at Senlac, by Hastings. King Harold was left dead on the field, and William the Conqueror reigned in his stead. During Edward's last years, the English Church went on its own way uncontrolled. There was still a quarrel between those who loved the monastic life and would have monks to rule over all cathedral churches and all bishoprics, and those who prized rather the freer life of the secular priest or the canon, who were often married and who mixed with the world, not always to their advantage. Many dioceses saw contentions on these points, and England was not ready to learn from abroad in the matter. The Papacy was beginning to rise from its degradation, but the Church

had kept herself free from the Roman power from the days of Wilfrith to those of Edward Confessor. From the time of Theodore to the year when Offa set up the archbishopric of Lichfield, there was no papal legate in England, and there were very few afterwards till the Normans came ; and Dunstan, as we have seen, refused to obey an order of the Pope.

The most striking feature of the English Church was its national independence. English was the language of popular devotion and of preaching. Not only in Cornwall and Wales or on the northern border, but in the heart of England itself, the local saints were reverenced above any next the Apostles and great missionaries connected more or less closely with England, such as S. Martin of Tours. The dedications of churches and monastic houses show how firm a hold on the people was won by the holy lives of English men and women, martyrs and confessors, from the kings and the great abbesses down to the simple hermits of the country villages. Thus the Church and people were very closely linked together. Side by side with the local courts of the hundred and shire were the Church courts of the rural dean and the bishop. The rural deaneries seem always to have been the same area as the hundreds, and the bishops sat in the shire courts as well as in their own. Thus it came about that there was little definition of rights or separation of interests. The Witan (the national council of wise men) passed laws for the Church as well as for the State ; the bishops sat in it, and in the later years of the English rule, many abbats also. The councils met generally at the great festivals of the Church, and chiefly at Christmas and Easter ; thus the solemn seasons brought the chief men of Church and State together for common prayer and consultation for the nation's good. Church councils separate from the lay assemblies seem generally to have been held in the autumn ; but gradually everything of importance was settled in the assemblies of the State. The king claimed wide power over the Church as well as over the State. He was, says the compiler of the old English laws who wrote in the time of Henry I., to rule and protect the Church, and in his solemn coronation, in a form which has been hardly at all altered since those distant times, prayer was offered

Characteristics of the early English Church.

that the king might nourish and teach, guard and instruct the Church. In doctrine, and in the discipline of the clergy, the Church courts had the right to judge: but the State was not chary of interfering. King Edgar set aside an archbishop of Canterbury as incompetent, that he might appoint Dunstan in his stead. But in all this there are hardly any signs of contest. Church and State worked freely and happily together. Yet, no doubt, the Church began to suffer the penalty of slackness. Unwilling to exercise her spiritual power, she allowed her ministers too often to sink into slothfulness and disregard of duty. Bishops, when they became old, still held their sees, and discharged their duties by deputy. Charges of idleness, worldliness, even drunkenness, are often made against the clergy and the monks. Clerical marriage was common, but it does not seem to have made the priests more diligent in the discharge of their duties. The weakness of the Church was the weakness of the Anglo-Saxon character. Its strength lay in its thorough representation of the national feeling of patriotism and unity. Unity had been very slowly won during the five hundred years since Augustine landed; even in 1066 it was not fully attained. But the sufferings of the people under the new conquerors knit them together, and the united Church, the Church of conquerors as well as conquered, stood forth to succour the distressed, and console the mourners and the poor with the promises of the Divine Christ.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The Norman Conquest had an immediate effect on the English Church. Since the days of Dunstan, English churchmen had gained little from their intercourse with foreign lands, and they were ready to resent even the good examples of foreign revivals of true religion and sound learning. Now they found that the invasion which conquered them bore partly the character of a religious work, a mission, or a crusade to win their land to the unity of the Church. The invaders had received the Pope's blessing on their work. They were pledged before they started to change the constitution of England in Church as well as in State. William the Conqueror, stern man, strict churchman in all that bore the outward stamp of order and rule, clear-headed statesman who knew the value of organisation and the help that a body of trained ecclesiastics could be to the king's work, made it one of his chief aims to effect a thorough reformation in the English Church and to bring it into harmony, in all its main features, with the churches abroad.

The Norman Conquest.

For four years it would seem that the English clergy knew not what was in the king's mind or what would befall them. William was marching over the country reducing to obedience those who still held out, and making the land he ravaged like a desert after he had passed. Yorkshire was 'harried' by his men, and the Church power was the only authority left in the northern lands, and that ruled over desolate tracts of country more bare than when Cuthbert and Wilfrith preached, and ready to sink again into a hardly veiled heathenism. At length the sword had gone through the length and breadth of the land, and in 1070, at the

Easter festival at Winchester, where he had worn his crown in the old capital of the West Saxon kings, William, with two legates from the Pope by his side, began to provide for the reformation of the island Church.

It was impossible that this should be done apart from the great work which was transforming Europe. Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), one of the greatest of all the Popes, sat on the papal throne, filled with a hatred of iniquity, a delight in strict rule, and a love of righteousness, which brought him into conflict with the imperial power that nominally ruled all continental Europe and made him eventually die in exile because he would not yield one jot of his demands. Everywhere in Europe during the terrible degradation into which the Papacy had sunk during the tenth century, the civil rulers had put forth extravagant claims to rule the Church, had sold all Church offices for money, had exacted oaths of obedience from ecclesiastics whom they promoted, and had given spiritual authority to their ministers in holy orders as a reward for their service in the State or to themselves. But men were awaking to the fact that the universal Church was a great sanctuary of man's freedom, a great protector of the weak and oppressed, a great teacher of peace, righteousness, and judgment to come, and that if she were enslaved all human liberty must soon pass with her into bondage. The schools of Charles the Great and Alcuin had borne good fruit. The earlier German kings who had come to rule Europe under the titles of Caesar and Augustus, felt that their first duty in the Holy Roman Empire was to give it a purified Church. The Church had learned from them to respect itself, and it had produced holy men, wise in matters of State as well as Church, to stand out for its rights and for its power to teach and guide the nations. The chiefest study had come to be law, the noble legacy of the great Roman Empire ; and the clergy were beginning to set together and codify the masses of Church rules which lay scattered in old chronicles and the decrees of councils since the fourth century after Christ. Thus Church law, collected and arranged, became an impressive monument to which claimants of ecclesiastical privilege could appeal for support against emperors and kings. Not content with this, appeal was made to forged writings, giving to the popes a

The Gregorian reforms.

power which had never really been allowed. In the hands of good, narrow, and determined men a mighty system of Church privilege and assumption arose, welding the clergy in each land into a separate estate or class, ready to serve the State, ready to rule it if need be, but never ready to surrender one point that had been won, or to sacrifice their class interest, spiritual or secular, at the bidding of king or baronage. The magnificence of the ideal which the Church now set forth—a vast spiritual organisation standing side by side with the State, to warn and to support it, appealed to the fervid imagination of the Normans and to their love of order and strict rule. It was impossible that William, who had already fallen under the fascination of its noble ideas as shown in the lives of holy and wise men, should keep his new conquest apart from the universal trend of European movement. He was imbued with a passion for clearness and definition. He was ready to be the friend of Pope Gregory, and his pupil in all things lawful and honest.

The letters that passed between William and Gregory show very clearly that while the king took from Rome everything that he thought would aid his great work, he would allow no trespassing on ground which he believed to be his own. The Pope wrote to the king of the English as his 'dearest king,' 'the unique and precious son of the Holy Roman Church,' remembering him always in his prayers, but from time to time admonishing him lest he fall into great condemnation, and requiring him to become his vassal for the lands which, with the support of the Papacy, he had won. William answered that Gregory was his father and his pontiff, that he would pay the Peter's pence or Romescot as his predecessors had paid, but never had he promised, or his predecessors owed, any fealty to the Holy See. None would he pay: he would act in all things as the lawful successor of the good King Edward.

William and the Pope.

Acting then on these lines, he made for himself, so a chronicler tells us, three rules, new to the English people. He would not allow any one in all his dominion to acknowledge as apostolic the pontiff of the city of Rome, save at his bidding, or by any means to receive any letter from him if it had not been first shown to himself. Thus he prevented any

His Church customs.

scandal such as arose from Stigand receiving the *pallium* from a false Pope, and also checked any attempt of Rome to issue orders to his subjects. 'He would not suffer the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he presided over a council of bishops, to ordain or forbid anything, save what had been first ordained by himself as agreeable to his own will.' Thus, in a time of much legislation, he prevented Church law in England from advancing on lines contrary to the laws of the State; and this rule has always been maintained by English kings. Again, he would not suffer that any of his men should be excommunicated for any crime without his order—a rule which showed that the moral laws of the Church could often be enforced only in the teeth of the kings. Lastly, he claimed—so it was said under his son Henry I.—that no papal legates should be received in England without his consent. These rules showed very clearly that William was determined to be master in his new kingdom and would brook no orders from Rome. So long as the English Church and the English archbishops were in agreement with him, they might work well: but it was inevitable that when these rules were handed down to kings less clear-headed and more passionate than William the Conqueror, a conflict would take place, in which the English Church would find herself supported against the sovereign by the general feeling of the Church Universal.

But at first these rules worked well, and chiefly because the king had good instruments ready to his hand. When he came to take in hand the reformation of the English Church, Ealdred, Archbishop of York, who had placed the crown on his head, had passed away. Stigand of Canterbury he deposed as unlawfully seated in the chair of S. Augustine. With him were ejected Æthelmaer, Bishop of the East Angles, who was married, and many another bishop and abbat of English blood. The vacant places were rarely given to Englishmen, almost always to foreigners. Lanfranc, prior of the great Norman house of Bec, an Italian learned in the law, whom William had made abbat of his great church at Caen, was consecrated at Canterbury to be archbishop, or as the English chronicler of Worcester calls him, 'the English Pope.' Lanfranc was a close friend of the Conqueror's, a man who lived by rule, clear-sighted and energetic

Lanfranc.

in his works. It was meet that as William held his lands outside the Roman Empire, so Lanfranc as archbishop should be a patriarch for Britain and the isles outside the imperial sway. Never was there serious dispute between king and archbishop so long as William lived; they had long planned how to rule together in Church and State, and they stood firm in carrying out their policy, heedless of English national feeling, and heedless of the Pope's threats against the archbishop.

Heedless they both were of national feeling, yet they still kept one English bishop in his see. The holy Wulfstan had been made bishop of the cathedral church of Worcester, where he had been prior in King Edward's day. He was a great friend of Earl Leofric of Mercia, and his wife Godgifu (Godiva), and also of Harold, Godwine's son. For long he had refused to be consecrated, and he had only yielded to the advice of a hermit who had lived for forty years apart from the world, and who told him that it was his duty to do what all men said he ought to do. He was consecrated, not by Stigand but by Ealdred, and when William came to England he was the most famous and the most beloved of all the English bishops. A legend tells that the Normans wished to deprive him of his see, and that when he laid his bishop's staff down no man but himself could take it up again. He alone of the English bishops retained his see, and he joined with Lanfranc, helped by the king's laws, to put down the slave-trade between England and Ireland, which was carried on from the port of Bristol. Side by side with him as a good bishop is preserved the memory of S. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury from 1078, who like Wulfstan rebuilt his cathedral church. He formed, too, a chapter of clergy, not monks, but secular clergy, with a dean to be their head. His predecessor Herman, a foreigner nominated by King Edward, had transferred the seat of the bishop from Sherborne to Salisbury (Sarum). From the rules made by S. Osmund for the conduct of divine service, and the customs and statutes of his successors, sprang up the most common fashion of English churches in the middle ages, which came to be called the 'Sarum use.'

S. Wulfstan.

S. Osmund.

Another great bishop of those days was Remigius of Lincoln.

It was he who began the building of the great cathedral church which overlooks the long plains of that county, and the story of his life gives a good picture of the work of a bishop in the eleventh century. 'Every summer, from May till August, besides his ordinary works of charity, he gave support to a thousand poor persons, and besides this fed and clothed a hundred and sixty, who being blind, lame, or sick, could not come to the common table. It was his wont to have with him at dinner every day thirteen poor persons, and every Saturday he was used to celebrate a *Maundy* (that is, to wash the feet of twelve poor men, according to our Lord's example and *mandate*), with the greatest humility. He founded a hospital for lepers at Lincoln, and for their support settled on it a rent of thirteen marks. There he frequently visited, comforted, and instructed. He found the flock committed to him steeped in horrible sins: by his preaching and instruction, actively carried on in all parts of his diocese, he ceased not to strive to bring them to a better mind.'

Remigius.

By men such as these the reformation of the Church was pressed forward. They were statesmen as well as ecclesiastics in their ideas. Rule and order were apparent in all they did, and a careful foresight for the needs of the future. Thus the chief seats of the bishops were removed from the villages and small towns to places of greater importance. As Sherborne and Ramsbury were deserted for the hill fortress of old Sarum, so the bishops moved from Thetford to Norwich, Wells to Bath, Dorchester to Lincoln, Selsey to Chichester, Lichfield to Chester. The bishops, gradually becoming immersed in affairs of State, found themselves side by side with knights and burghers, whom they brought to give their arms and their wealth to the service of the Church. While they by no means discouraged the secular canons, the bishops did their utmost to check the marriage of the clergy, and tried to set before the English clergy the best examples of foreign monastic orders. William himself, says the English chronicler, did much for this end. 'He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God allowed him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In

Changes in the bishoprics.

The monks.

his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England; moreover, this land was filled with monks who lived after the rule of S. Benedict; and such was the state of religion in his days that all that would might observe that which was prescribed by their respective orders.'

The condition of the monasteries at the time of the Norman Conquest would seem to the strict eye of Lanfranc, even in small matters, very lax. The Benedictines, so rigid in abstinence abroad, were allowed flesh meat in England. S. Æthelwold, the contemporary of S. Dunstan and the great reformer of the English monastic houses, as a rule never ate meat, but did so by the archbishop's express command. He allowed at Abingdon a dish of stew mixed with meat, and in monastic houses generally *pinguedo* (pork fat) was allowed up to Septuagesima. But even when these rules were observed the monks were not always restrained from laxity in other respects, if we may accept the evidence of William of Malmesbury, who says that when Lanfranc came to reform the monks of Canterbury, they 'amused themselves with hunting, with falconry, with horseracing; they loved to rattle the dice, they indulged in drink, they wore fine clothes, studied personal appearance, disdained a quiet and frugal life, and had such a retinue of servants that they were more like secular nobles than monks.' The Benedictines, who were the great masters of agriculture in mediæval England, were also keen sportsmen. It was not for nothing that Henry II. declared, when he made submission after the murder of Becket, that while the clergy should be tried for all other offences in their own courts, he would not give up jurisdiction over clerical poachers.

Yet in spite of possible poaching propensities with which the king who made the New Forest would sympathise as little as his great-grandson, the French monks, with their strict rule, gave to England a lesson of contentment, quietness, and simple laborious life, which was of immense value in a turbulent age. Young Englishmen learnt the rules of religious obedience from foreign abbats, and the rule, which they both obeyed, linked them together.

But not all these monks brought peace and quiet; of some of them it might be said that they did nought monklike. In the ancient abbey of S. Alban's the new Norman abbat destroyed

the tombs of his predecessors. At Glastonbury the abbat Thurstan tried to introduce the new Norman way of singing the services, and actually called in archers against the monks, who loved the old Gregorian chants. 'Then,' says the English chronicler, 'were the monks sore afraid of them, and wist not what to do, and fled hither and thither. . . . And a rueful thing there happened that day, for the Frenchmen brake into the choir, and shot towards the altar where the monks were, and some of the knights went up to the up-floor (the triforium), and shot downwards towards the halidom (sanctuary), so that on the Rood that stood above the altar stuck on many arrows. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under it, and cried with yearning to God, craving His mildness, for that they could get no mildness from men. What may we say but that they shot sorely, and wounded many therein, so that the blood came from the altar upon the steps, and from the steps upon the floor.'

Thurstan at Glastonbury, 1083.

But while thus contention was aroused in some places, in others peace was brought about between the conquerors and conquered by the gentle lives and teaching of the new clergy. At S. Alban's an Englishman gave to the abbey church, even to the harsh abbat who had destroyed the English tombs, two new bells; and as he heard them ring he said, 'How sweetly bleat my goats and my sheep.' Under S. Wulfstan seven monasteries, where monks of English race were joined with men of foreign blood under the rule of foreign abbats, linked themselves together by common rule of prayer as one heart and one soul.

The beginnings of unity.

Peace was the aim of William and of Lanfranc; and it may be that they thought they had done their best to win it when they reformed the condition of the old English Church courts. Of old the bishops had had their courts where they had judged moral questions and cases that concerned the doctrine and discipline of the clergy. But in the old English days Church and State worked hand in hand; there were no separate class interests. The bishops sate with lay folk in the shire courts of justice, and there too the parish priests were found with their people. Thus it came about that

The separation of the courts.

the courts of Church and State had become confused, and men were being judged indifferently in one or the other for offences against religion or the law of the land. This to William and Lanfranc, with their love of order and their knowledge of law, was intolerable. The king issued, therefore, an edict to separate the courts, which settled the custom for the whole of the Middle Ages. First he ordered that the episcopal laws should be reversed and amended, as was being done by the great canon lawyers abroad. He forbade any bishop or archdeacon to hear Church cases in the civil courts or to judge by any but episcopal and canon laws. Likewise he forbade any of his officials or any other layman to intrude into matters concerning Church law, but rather he ordered them to assist the bishops, whenever it should be needed, in carrying out the penalties which the Church courts should inflict.

William and Lanfranc doubtless hoped that they would thus prevent all conflict between Church and State. It turned out far otherwise; but for the time the definition of their different spheres, though it was not complete, preserved peace. The clergy were given control of the ordeal, the solemn appeal to the judgment of God, by which in the last resort all criminal trials were settled; and the clergy were still the only lawyers. Their very knowledge of law was sure to produce litigation.

When William I. died, his son, William the Red, succeeded him. He was a godless man, whose evil life made him always at war with the Church. Yet so long as Lanfranc lived (till 1089) he provoked no open conflict. But he prepared his instruments of oppression, and chief among them was a priest, Ranulf Flambard, who joined with him, using all Church patronage as a means of winning money for the crown. Only those men were appointed who could pay large sums to the treasury; and, moreover, when bishops or abbats died, their posts were kept vacant, and all the revenues of their lands were seized by the king. When the archbishop died, the lands of Canterbury were thus appropriated, and for five years Lanfranc had no successor. It was the king's aim to make the clergy hold their benefices, just as the laity did, by feudal tenure from him.

William II., 1087-1100.

But victory over the oppressor was given to a learned, simple

saint. Anselm, abbat of Bec, was a Burgundian, born at Aosta in 1033, who had long been a friend of Lanfranc, and had tarried at the new monastery which he had built at Canterbury. 'There was no earl in England,' writes his biographer Eadmer, 'nor any powerful person, who did not think they had lost merit in the sight of God if it had not chanced to them to have done some service to Anselm, the abbat of Bec, so beautiful was his holy life.' As a ruler of monks his gentleness had procured peace and obedience where severity had failed. He was the greatest writer of his age, a philosopher and theologian with whom no contemporary could compare. His *Cur Deus Homo*, a treatise on the Incarnation of our Lord, ruled the teaching of the Church for many centuries. His *Monologion* and *Proslogion* show how Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages had learned from the ancient Greeks, and supplied philosophers with the argument that God's existence was proved by the very thought of Him in the mind of man, a thought too stupendous to have been conceived unless there was a reality that answered to it. Great, then, as a thinker, and beloved as a saint, men naturally looked to Anselm, when Lanfranc died, as the worthiest man for his successor.

S. Anselm.

But it was not until a dangerous illness made the Red King think himself at the point of death that in 1093 he sought counsel and absolution from Anselm, and then offered him the primacy. But Anselm for a long time steadfastly refused, and finally accepted with the greatest reluctance. Hardly was he consecrated before serious difficulties arose. The king recovered, and a dispute began about the contested election to the Papacy ; Anselm had already recognised Urban II. as lawful Pope, and at length he induced the king to do likewise. Then came William's claim to bestow on him the *pallium*, now definitely recognised as a badge of spiritual jurisdiction. A long dispute ended by a compromise : Anselm, instead of going to Rome, had the *pallium* sent to him, and took it from the altar of Canterbury cathedral church. This was settled at a great council of the realm at Rockingham, where Anselm for many days withstood the fury of the king and the malice of treacherous bishops. The king accused him also of not sending sufficient troops from his lands for a Welsh war ; and finding that nothing would satisfy Willliam, or induce him to give up his evil courses, the

archbishop at length, in October 1096, declared to the great council at Winchester that 'for the sake of his own soul, for the sake of religion, and for the king's own honour and profit, it was needful he should go; and if the king would not grant leave he must go without it, obeying God rather than man.' He went to Rome, where he was received with all honour as 'Pope of another world.' So long as William lived he did not return. The Church in England went from bad to worse. The English chronicler says of William's last years: 'God's Church he brought low, and the bishoprics and abbacies whose elders in his days fell, them all he either sold for money or kept them in his own hand, and farmed them out for rent, for that he would be the heir of every one, of clerk and of layman.' The goods of Canterbury were in his hands, and the bishoprics, if they were filled at all, were filled with his own creatures. Ranulf Flambard became Bishop of Durham, the great see which was almost a separate kingdom, endowed with special powers as a bulwark against the Scots. There he did at least some good work in the building of the magnificent cathedral church of the northern see, which stands with the castle beside it looking down upon the city and across the Wear over miles of the lands of the earl-bishop.

When Rufus was shot in the New Forest the crown came to his astute brother Henry, whom men called a 'good clerk.' He saw from the first that he must make peace with the Church, and he wrote to Anselm to beg him to return. 'I require you, and all the people of England with me,' he wrote, 'as our father, that with all speed you come to take care of me, your son, and the same people, the care of whose souls has been committed to you. Mine own self, indeed, and the people of the whole realm of England, I commend to your counsel and theirs, who with you ought to take counsel for me. Hasten, therefore, father, to come, lest our mother the Church of Canterbury, so long tempest-tossed and desolate, should any further, for your sake, experience the loss of souls.' Henry I., 1100.

Anselm returned to the position which the constitution of the country gave him, that of first adviser of the crown; but he returned with views which were in opposition to those of the king. At a council held in Rome, at the Lateran, in 1099, it had

been solemnly agreed that the clergy should never again receive from lay hands investiture with the bishop's staff and ring, the signs of spiritual powers which only the Church could convey. Henry claimed, as did the emperors abroad, that it belonged to the State to appoint bishops and abbats, and to confer on them the signs of their authority. This had been for some time the rule ; Anselm himself had thus been invested by William Rufus. But now that the Church had decided the point, it was incumbent on the archbishop to maintain the principle and to protest against 'the shame and mischief of allowing great Church offices to be disposed of by the kings and princes of the time without an effort to assert their meaning and sacredness.' Henry was not eager for a conflict. Anselm in 1101 helped him to keep his throne when his brother Robert invaded the land. The king in his coronation charter had declared that the Church should be free, and that he would take nothing from her domains unlawfully. The matter was referred to the Pope—now Paschal II.—and he remained firm. Henry continued to act as he had done before. 'I will not lose the customs of my predecessors,' he said, 'nor will I endure in my kingdom any one who is not my subject.' Constant reference to Rome began the custom of appeals to the Pope, which was to cause much harm to England for the next four centuries.

Contest about investitures.

Henry appointed his chancellor, Roger, a skilful clerk who had reorganised the administration of the country, to the see of Salisbury. On the other hand, Anselm was allowed to hold a Church council at Westminster, 1102, which forbade the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons, the slave-trade, the grant of churches to monks, or the payment of tithes to any but churches. The attempt to make the clergy who were not under monastic vows put away their wives was not for some time successful.

Council of Westminster, 1102.

Still the dispute about investitures remained unsettled, and at length, after further letters from the Pope, which Henry refused to read, Anselm in 1103 set out for Rome 'in the king's peace, invested with all that belonged to him.' During his absence the Church suffered greatly, it is said, and vice flourished ; and at length it became clear that peace could only be made by concessions from both sides. Henry met Anselm in friendly part at Bec.

The archbishop returned to England, and king and archbishop each held their own council at Westminster in August 1107.

It was decided that bishops and abbats, after they were elected, should do homage to the king before their consecration, and the king surrendered all claims to invest with the ring or the staff. This was a wise settlement, and it was due chiefly to Anselm's tact and patience. Sixteen years later the same compromise was accepted for the empire by the Concordat of Worms. It was a great obstacle to the secularisation of the Church, which was so constant a danger under the Norman kings; but Henry still proceeded to appoint his own ministers, who had served him well in the administration of secular affairs, to high Church office as a reward for their service. Nominally the chapters of the cathedrals were allowed to elect their superiors; but the election was held in the king's court, and he nominated persons for election. It was thus, with very definite royal pressure, that Roger the chancellor, who could say mass rapidly 'for huntingmen,' was chosen Bishop of Salisbury. It was thus that his kinsfolk, even his son, were promoted also to high office in the Church.

The agreement.

The years that followed the settlement of the investitures' quarrel were not a time of conflict. The arrangement which Anselm had made with the king worked harmoniously, and the State made no more excessive claims at the expense of the Church. But a time of peace became, as so often in the Church's history, a time of secularisation. The State felt that it needed the help of churchmen, and the Church for the time seemed to fancy that its best work lay in helping the State.

Henry I. set before him the task of organising the administration in a way which should make the royal power felt everywhere in the land. He found his best agents among the clergy. In the thirty years that followed the death of S. Anselm, the government was conducted mainly by clergy, carrying out the plans of the great king who established the Norman rule on a firm basis. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, was the king's chief adviser, and he was assisted, as the years went on, by many members of his own family, who founded a sort of new clerical and ministerial nobility, in the hands of whom

Henry's rule through the clergy.

were the reins of government, the secrets of policy, the machinery of administration, both central and, to a less degree, local also. The clergy so largely employed in work which nowadays is considered to belong almost exclusively to laymen, were rewarded by ecclesiastical preferment. The king employed churchmen for his work, and he used the Church as a means of rewarding his servants. Excuse for this may be found in the fact that the clergy were helping, as probably no others at the time could have helped, in the founding of a system of just government which would benefit all classes. Spiritual duties were too often neglected, and yet in the end it was not all loss. Bishops and clergy were seen collecting taxes, hearing lawsuits, conducting negotiations with foreign powers, even leading armies in the field ; but in each of these cases something was gained for the cause of right. Something was done to teach honesty in money matters, justice in litigation, a respect for right between nations, and the national claim to be governed by rulers whom it had chosen, not by Scots or Frenchmen.

Before the results of the king's policy were fully seen Anselm passed away in peace (1109), leaving behind him a memory which did much to knit together English and Normans, statesmen and priests.

In Scotland the close of the eleventh century was a time of no less importance than in England. It was the time when the Lowlands had won supremacy over the Highlands, and the southern kings, of half English race, were rulers of the whole land. The land had been but slowly brought to the Christian faith, and there remained much to do when Malcolm Canmore came to the throne in 1057. He married for second wife Margaret, great-niece of Edward the Confessor. She was a wise woman, and an instructed and devoted Christian. Her life, by her chaplain, Turgot, shows her to have been most able as well as pious, giving herself with diligence to the reading of the word of God, and asking thereon questions which 'made her teachers depart more learned than they came.' The fast of Lent and the Easter Communion she found neglected, and by her words of piety she caused them to be fully observed. There was no observance of Sunday in the realm. 'Let us reverence the Lord's day,' said

S. Margaret of Scotland.

the good queen, 'because of the Lord's Resurrection, which took place upon it: let us no longer do servile works on the day when we know we were redeemed from Satan.' Nor did she neglect any of the arts which beautify the worship of the Church. The commerce which she encouraged brought rich stuffs to the land, and she took great pleasure in painting and the illumination of manuscripts.

Round the figure of Margaret the Church history of Scotland in the early Middle Ages seems to group itself. But she was not without predecessors. Councils for Church affairs were held from the beginning of the tenth century. Constantine the king, as a 'hoary warrior, assumed the staff in his old age, and served the Lord' in the monastery of S. Andrews, but the king after him perished in the fratricidal quarrels of the century, and the Church suffered alike from internal decay and from external assaults. In 986 the Danes, who had often pillaged it before, for the last time seized Iona and slew the abbat and the monks. But Margaret's religious genius revived and extended the work of the evangelists. Lanfranc was her adviser. She introduced Benedictines from Durham. She restored Iona and planted there the order of S. Benedict. Her aim was, no doubt, to bring the Scots Church into conformity with the rest of Christendom, and to this end she gradually replaced the Culdees by the strict orders of the West. Her work and that of her husband, whom she brought to be as pious as herself, was carried on by his sons. The Church was extended, by more than mere sporadic missions, to distant Caithness, which in the twelfth century became united with the land of the Scots, first in ecclesiastical and then in civil bonds. Orkney and Shetland had early received the Gospel from the monks of Iona, but Danish invasions and then a Danish conquest prevented any permanent conversion. In 1110 S. Magnus, a Norwegian earl, was murdered in Orkney by his cousin Haco, also a Christian. He was soon ranked as a martyr, from the saintliness of his life and the steadfastness of his death, and in 1137, when his body had been translated to Kirkwall, the cathedral church was raised to his memory.

The expansion of the Scots Church.

As the organisation of the Church in Scotland progressed, difficulties arose as to the supremacy over it. S. Gregory, at the

coming of Augustine, had intended that Scotland should be ruled by the northern English primate. The claims of York, long in abeyance, were now becoming obnoxious to the Scots kings, but as yet no serious dispute took place. The policy of Margaret, to get learned men from the south, was still continued. Eadmer, the friend and biographer of S. Anselm, was in 1120 'elected by the clergy and people with the king's consent' to the see of S. Andrews, to succeed Turgot; but as he would only receive consecration from Canterbury, a suggestion of submission to which the Scots would not yield, he never received his see. In the reign of Alexander I. (1107-1124) the new sees of Moray and Dunkeld were mapped out, the latter a revival. In 1114 Glasgow, once the see of S. Kentigern (Mungo), was restored as a bishopric.

The reign of David I.

David I. (1124-1153), the greatest of the early Scots kings, did a great work for the Church as well as for the State. The parochial system was now firmly established, and the mapping out of the land into dioceses proceeded apace. Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin completed the organisation, for Orkney remained subject to Drontheim in Norway till 1472. Church councils were held, to which papal legates came to give advice. But David's most famous work was that he founded the monasteries for which Scotland was so long renowned, and whose magnificent ruins have inspired some of the finest of the poems of her sons.

He replaced the ancient Culdees by more strict societies: by the Benedictines, as at Selkirk and Dunfermline; by the Premonstratensians, as at Dryburgh; by the Cistercians, as at Newbattle and Melrose; and by the Augustinian canons, as at Jedburgh and the house of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh. Largely through their influence the Celtic Church of Scotland became merged in the Church of English teaching and ritual.

With the southern monks came a great age of church architecture, of which there are still many remains, from the cathedral of S. Mungo at Glasgow to the little chapel of S. Margaret in Edinburgh Castle. With the building of cathedrals came the formation of chapters and the completion of the whole ecclesiastical order. David's reign also marked the beginning of Roman influence in Scotland. Entering first through legates to advise on

difficult points, it was soon gladly sought as a protection against English supremacy, and Scotland became before long 'the favoured child of the Holy See.'

With the growth of outside influences, from England and the European Continent, the power of the Culdees departed, and the purely Celtic influences disappeared. The Culdees 'represented the final decay of the once glorious Celtic Church, its latest and by no means best product,' and when they were merged in the ordinary monasticism, Scots Christianity had hardly a peculiar feature left.

The decay of the Culdees.

With Wales it was different. In the two centuries before the Norman Conquest South Wales was coming into a definite cohesion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The borders of Llandaff were fixed, and the number of small bishoprics which existed from time to time in the south-west were united under the see of S. David's. It is said that Bishop Morgenen was murdered in 999 by the Danes. Tramerin is said to have been consecrated to the see by Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury. Bleithud, who died in 1071, is said to have been consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. More certain history begins a few years later. Sulien, 'the wisest of the Britons,' trained in Scotland and in Ireland, was elected to S. David's after 1071. He twice resigned, and twice resumed his see at the people's entreaty. In the year of his death the Northmen for the last time ravaged the cathedral city. His son Ryhddmarch succeeded him, and on his death in 1096 was followed by Gruffydd (or Wilfrith). He gave up to the Norman barons a large district which had been the property of his see, and probably for this he was suspended by S. Anselm. After his death another son of Bishop Sulien was elected, but the king would not suffer him to be consecrated. The State had now begun to make a policy of securing Wales through the Church.

South Wales.

The Norman Conquest was a critical epoch for the Church in Wales as well as in England. The bishops hitherto had always been independent. Much of the tribal character of the episcopate had remained. S. David's was supposed to have a complete independence of Canterbury. This independence was like that of the Welsh princes,

Effect of the Norman Conquest.

precarious ; but it is clear that the successors of S. Augustine had never been able to establish their supremacy. There was now a determined attempt on the part of the Norman kings to crush the Welsh nationality. This involved the depression of the Welsh Church. Abbeys, bishoprics, and offices that were worth the taking were filled with the same class of men who were now given rule in the English Church. A system was introduced, and it was the system of the organised foreign Church that owed obedience to Rome.

From the Norman Conquest the claims of Canterbury to the supremacy over Wales were vigorously pushed forward. S. Anselm consecrated a Bishop Urban (or Morgan) for Llandaff in 1107. Before this one Hervey was consecrated Bishop of Bangor by Thomas of York (1092) ; he was, however, unable to hold his position, and after a rebellion against him he fled to England. South Wales was passing under Norman rule, and Henry I., in spite of the canonical election of a Welshman, provided a Norman, Bernard, for the see of S. David's. He took an oath of canonical obedience to Canterbury, and this obedience was ever afterwards exacted.

The condition of the Welsh Church at this time presented several features which would be obnoxious to the foreign reformers. The clergy were almost always married, and the churches seem often to have passed from father to son ; but the distinction that a clergyman could not lawfully marry after he had been ordained priest seems still to have been observed. In the cathedral chapters marriage also was common. The great Welsh writer of the twelfth century, Gerald de Barry, says, no doubt with exaggeration, that the canons' sons married the canons' daughters, and the cathedral precincts seemed to be in the possession of a great family, with nurses and cradles under the shadow of the great church. It appears that benefices were even divided when inherited by the sons of the clergy. In several cases there were two rectors. Church property was treated as if it belonged to the temporary possessors, not as a trust for sacred uses.

Condition of the Welsh Church.

All this it was the aim of the Norman bishops to sweep away. But in regard to marriage they were unsuccessful. The custom

continued for many centuries, and even the foreign bishops themselves fell in with it. Still less was there reform in the matter of the benefices. If hereditary succession ceased, purchase, excessive taxation, and every kind of financial extortion were introduced. The people were robbed right and left by the officials of the Norman bishops. 'They were not content to pluck them,' says Gerald, 'they skinned them.' On the other hand, this was the era of the foundation of many monasteries, especially throughout Glamorgan. Many new parish churches were built, and bishops like Urban (Morgan) of Llandaff were strenuous in endeavouring to win back church property. The Norman bishops were great church-builders; it was Urban who began, about 1120, the cathedral church of Llandaff, of which some work still remains. Sixty years later Peter de Leia, Bishop of S. David's, began the magnificent church which still enriches the rugged coastland of Pembrokeshire. Nowhere does the master-work of the Norman builder remain more impressive than in the little hollow among the solitary hills where stands the cathedral church of S. David.

Bernard, Bishop of S. David's (1115-47), was a man of brilliant talents and courtly manners, who was ready to assume for his see a lofty position, even in the face of the power of Canterbury. He claimed that S. David's was the metropolitan see of Wales, a claim for which there seems to be no historical evidence, and which, after several years of conflict, was allowed to lapse. His successor, David Fitzgerald, was a married man who was constantly at war with his chapter. His nephew, Gerald de Barry, already archdeacon of S. David's, was elected by the canons, but Henry II. would not allow him to be consecrated, and in his stead Peter de Leia, prior of Wenlock, was appointed. He lived to 1199, and during his episcopate the Church in Wales definitely, though not without protest, accepted Canterbury as the metropolitan see.

The Norman bishops.

While Wales was thus disturbed, England was passing through a civil war and a restoration of order. Henry I. left a firm fabric behind him, a strong government and just laws. He left them in the hands of the clergy to maintain. During the first years of Stephen all went well, so long as Roger of Salisbury and his family

conducted the administration. An early charter of Stephen's shows that he considered that it was the influence of the clergy which had largely decided the people to choose him for king, in spite of the claims of Matilda, King Henry's daughter, and the oaths which many of the great men had taken to her. 'Elected,' he said, 'by the clergy and people,' he determined that the Church should hold all her possessions inviolate, and that when a bishopric should be vacant a successor should be canonically appointed (that is, by a free election), and nothing should be taken from the Church during the vacancy. The new king would have been wise if he had kept up the tradition of his predecessor. But a hasty jealousy caused him to break with the Church, to seize and imprison Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and two other bishops, his near kinsmen; and from that moment his own throne was never secure, and the crown was contested for many years between Matilda and himself. Still he had said he would allow the churches to choose freely their own bishops, and it is possible that this freedom was for a short time enjoyed.

The war that raged and the savage deeds of the barons probably touched but a small part of the land, and the work of the Church was but little impeded. As an estate of the realm the clergy certainly retained their influence, and Church councils year by year called Stephen to answer for the seizure of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, declared Matilda queen, and eventually, it is probable, settled the affair of the succession.

The reign of Stephen is in many respects one of the most important in the history of the English Church. For some time a new influence had been at work counteracting the secularity which had set in during the later years of Henry I.

Stephen, 1135-1154.

At the end of the eleventh century the abbey of Citeaux in Burgundy had taught to the world a new rule of austerity and devotion. Stephen Harding, an Englishman from Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, now its abbat, in 1113 received as a novice Bernard, the son of a knight. Two years later the enthusiasm of the new monk created a new abbey, where for more than thirty years he set before the world a picture of a great and noble self-sacrifice. From the abbey of Clairvaux, by his sermons, his letters, and his own severe and holy life, S.

The monks.

Bernard inspired high and low with a new fervour of devotion, a new and living faith in the Crucified, and a new ideal of work for Him in the cloister and in the world. He was the guide and counsellor of popes, kings and queens, nobles, and the humblest monks. The Cistercian order soon came to England, and in the reign of Stephen it spread its branches over all the land. Everywhere under the hands of these energetic farmers the land revived, and began to blossom, as the pious chronicler writes, like the garden of the Lord. The northern shires recovered from the devastation of the stern King William. Even in 1130 the land round York lay waste for sixty miles. Thither came the monks—not all Cistercians—and cultivation began again. More monasteries were built in England between 1135 and 1154 than in any other corresponding period. 'In the short time that Stephen bore the title of king,' says William of Newburgh, an Augustinian canon, 'there arose in England many more dwellings of the servants and handmaidens of the Lord than had risen in the whole century past.' Thame and Bruern, Combe, Ford, Boxley, Meaux, and Woburn, and many other houses were built at this time, 'God's castles' they were, 'in which the servants of the true anointed King keep watch, and His children are exercised in war against spiritual wickedness.' It was in Stephen's reign, too, that a Lincolnshire man, Gilbert of Sempringham, founded a new and entirely English order. This admitted both men and women to its ranks, and was also distinctly educational, training the young in learning as well as piety. William of Newburgh says of the founder that 'he bears away the palm from all who have applied their religious labours to the teaching and training of women.'

Even outside the monasteries Stephen's reign had its saints. S. William of York, a kinsman of the king's, was elected to the northern archbishopric, but by jealousy was long kept without consecration by intrigues at Rome, and when he was at length placed in possession of his see (1153) he was murdered, it is said, by a monk. Anchorites still lived in sequestered spots, as S. Godric, who long dwelt in a hermitage at Finchale by the Wear. Tales are told, too, of simple villagers whose saintly lives were known far and wide. It was a great age of church-building, as we know by its remains to-day, and the

The English saints.

little villages no less than the cities shared in the work of the Norman artists. In spite of warfare, the reign of Stephen was a time of quiet growth.

It was inevitable also that it should be a time of growth in assumption on the part of the clergy. The clergy had been trained to govern and to judge, and now the civil wars left few others who would do either. It seems that the county courts, where justice had been administered under the sheriffs, broke down utterly. The Church courts stepped in to fill up the gap. Men began to take to them many suits which a more accurate definition of the boundaries between Church and State would have left within the province of the latter. In this way cases concerning advowsons and presentations to livings fell into the hands of the Church, and also cases concerning wills and debts, and many moral questions. The Church law was being codified, and men were able to appeal to it more definitely than, in spite of the work which the clergy had done towards codifying also the customary law of the country, they could appeal to the common law. And while all over the country clergymen were taking an important part in public affairs, and were claiming for their courts a widely extended jurisdiction, a new body of workers was being raised up in a sort of school which the Archbishop Theobald established in his palace at Canterbury.

The claims of the Church.

Theobald was not himself learned, but he loved learning. Not only did he foster the study of Church law, now codified by the canonist Gratian, but he encouraged the study of Roman law in England, which the schools of Oxford were now learning from the teaching of Vacarius. With the popular use of the *Decretum* of Gratian, which contained the forged decretals on which so much of the papal claims was based, Roman canon law began to obtain supremacy in the English courts, and it seems to have been generally admitted as a supreme authority, coming, as it did, from what was recognised as the chief court of appeal for churchmen all over the West.

Theobald surrounded himself by lawyers as well as theologians. His archdeacon, Thomas of London, the son of Gilbert Becket, a merchant of Caen, studied at Bologna, where Gratian was then lecturing, and so constant was the custom

Theobald's school.

of archdeacons studying law in Italy, which was regarded as a land of most corrupt morals, that the wits of the day used to propound the question, 'Can an archdeacon be saved?' The clerks trained in the school of Canterbury served the Church and the king in many lands, and though Theobald himself disputed with Stephen, and, in spite of the king's commands, attended a council at Rome, his advice was sought on critical occasions, and at the end of the reign it was at his suggestion that the crown was promised to Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou.

While Roger of Salisbury and his family were 'great in secular things,' and Theobald was training the next generation to the service of the Church, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, himself a Cistercian and a man of severe life, watched the political struggles with an eye first of all to the Church's interests. His word it seemed to be that gave each party in turn the victory in the strife. Little by little, it would seem, he deserted the unselfish ideal of S. Bernard, but the principles which he seemed to have surrendered were safe in the keeping of the school of Theobald.

Henry of Winchester.

When Henry II. became king the archbishop determined to supply him with an adviser whom he could trust. Thus a chronicler states the facts :—

'Now (on the young king's accession) there was in the Church of his realm no slight trepidation, both on account of the king's youth and from the known hostility of those about him to the rights of the Church's freedom. Nor was this unnecessary, as the event proved. And the Archbishop of Canterbury, anxious about the present and apprehensive for the future, sought to find some remedy for the evils which he feared were at hand ; and it seemed to him that if he could make Thomas a partner of the king's counsels there might result therefrom the greatest peace and quietness for the English Church. For he knew that he was a man great-souled and prudent, who had a zeal for good according to knowledge, and strove with all his heart for the freedom of the Church. Having sought therefore the advice of the Bishops Philip of Bayeux and Arnulf of Lisieux, on whose counsels the king at the first relied, he began to set forth in speech the wisdom, the hardihood, and the fidelity of Thomas, and the admirable

sweetness of his manners. The said bishops agreeing to the archbishop's wish, Thomas entered the royal court and obtained the dignity and office of Chancellor.'

Thomas Becket as Chancellor.

The Chancellor was, after the justiciar, the king's most powerful minister, and he came nearest of all to him because he was the head of the clerks through whom all letters and petitions were dealt with. Thomas proved himself worthy of his position. 'Lowly in his own eyes,' says his biographers, 'he was yet proud to the proud.' He kept great state and dignity, and when he travelled on the king's business the gorgeousness of his train astonished the Franks. He himself led knights in the field, and his knights 'were ever first in the army, as he taught and led and cheered them on to victory.' The king at once saw his ability and made him his close personal friend. Many tales are told of the boyish pranks they would play together when the serious business of the day was over. 'Never were there two men more of one mind or better friends.' But Becket had already many enemies. His rise was too rapid, and his old fellow-scholar, Roger of Pont l'Evêque, now Archbishop of York, nourished an ill-feeling which was ready to take any occasion of offence.

As Archbishop.

In April 1161 Archbishop Theobald died. At first Henry said nothing, keeping the see vacant for more than a year. Then he told Thomas that he must be archbishop. Not without a presentiment of what would happen, he 'put off the deacon,' and all the pomp in which he had lived, was ordained priest on the Sunday after Whit Sunday 1162, and next day was consecrated by Henry of Winchester Archbishop of Canterbury. His first acts showed the serious view which he took of his new obligation. He assumed the habit of the Augustinian canons, resigned the chancellorship, to the king's indignation, and began to reclaim the lands of the see which had been seized during the vacancy. It was not many months before there came an open quarrel with the king. Together they had worked to restore the courts of justice and the system of taxation and police, they had brought England forward prominently among the nations of Europe, and they had inaugurated great legal reforms. Now came the inevitable conflict between Church and State, which William I.'s

separation of the courts involved. Henry said that there were many clerical criminals, and that the punishments of the Church courts, imprisonment and degradation from holy orders, were quite inadequate. Becket defended the 'privilege of the clergy' to be tried in their own courts. But before this question was brought to an issue a quarrel occurred about a matter of taxation, in which it seems that the archbishop tried to defend the Church and the poor from a new method of exaction. Already the bishops were showing him that he could not rely on their support, and even the Pope seemed to favour his foe, Roger of York. A council at Westminster, in October 1163, showed that on the matter of clerical privilege, the views of Henry and Becket were irreconcilable. Then the 'customs of the realm, as they had been in Henry I.'s time, were drawn up by the king's clerks. They were presented to a council at Clarendon, 1164. They stated :—(1) That all suits concerning church property should be tried in the lay courts ; (2) and this was the most important clause—that : 'Clerks charged and accused concerning any matter, having been summoned by the king's justiciar, shall come into his court to answer there concerning this matter if it shall seem meet to the king's court that it be answered there, and in the ecclesiastical court if it seem meet that it be answered there, so that the king's justiciar shall send into the court of Holy Church to see in what manner the suit be therein tried. And if the clerk shall be convicted or shall confess, the Church ought no longer to shield him.' (3) That no ecclesiastics should leave the realm without the king's licence. (4) That no excommunication of the king's tenants-in-chief should be issued without his knowledge. (5) That disputes as to a tenement between a clerk and a layman should be tried by a jury. (6) 'Concerning appeals when they shall arise, they ought to go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. And if the archbishop shall fail in showing justice, resort should be had lastly to the king, so that by his order the question be concluded in the archbishop's court : so that it should go no further without the king's assent.' (This last shows the existence of a regular system of appeals in ecclesiastical suits, though no regular system of appeals in lay courts existed at this time.) The clause acted as

Criminous clerks.

The Constitutions of Clarendon.

a prohibition of appeals to Rome, and may be regarded as the definite declaration of a position never wholly abandoned, and finally assumed at the Reformation. It should be observed that the final decision is not left to the king, but he remits the cause to the archbishop's court for reconsideration. (7) As to the position of the higher clergy, they were to rank as barons so far as their fiefs were concerned. (8) Elections were to be as in Henry I.'s reign. (9) Villeins were not to be ordained without their lords' consent.

The sixteen clauses of the Constitutions of Clarendon may be thus compressed. At first Becket accepted them : probably he did not recognise how much they differed from the accepted rules. Then he refused to seal them. The king's claim that all clerical criminals should be summoned before the lay courts, charged there with crime, then judged, if the bishop claimed them, in the Church courts, and then sent back to the lay courts to receive a civil punishment besides the ecclesiastical one which the Church court might have thought fit to inflict, seemed to Becket to be giving two punishments for the same offence, contrary to the first principles of justice. No less strongly did he assert that the Church alone had the right to judge all clerical offenders. It was a wide claim, for in those days the clerical class included not only bishops, priests, and deacons, but subdeacons, and many in minor orders and church offices whom we now regard merely as lay officials of the Church. It was stretched also to include widows and orphans, as well as lay monks and nuns, all, in fact, who were unable by nature or custom to defend themselves, and whom the Church protected. So large an exemption from the barbarous penalties of the lay courts seemed to the king to interfere with the even-handed justice which it was his great aim to establish. This was the question which caused the great quarrel between the two friends, which banished Becket from England, and which agitated Europe for many years.

Becket had a strong party on his side. He was an Englishman, the first man born in our land since the Norman Conquest who had been Archbishop of Canterbury. He seemed to represent a cause which many of the clergy and people had learned to value, the claim of each class to have its own separate rights. The people of England were enthusiastically on his side ; so were many barons, and most, but by no means all, of the clergy. The

king had many bishops who stood by him, his own officials (such as Roger of York, Becket's old foe, and Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, a strict, bitter churchman, who had opposed Becket's election), some of them no doubt, in hope of preferment, some from higher motives. William of Newburgh, the wisest and most unprejudiced chronicler of the day, declares that both king and primate had a zeal for justice, but which was according to knowledge he will not undertake to decide.

Henry at first put himself in the wrong by his ferocity. At the council of Northampton in October 1164 he beset the archbishop with frivolous charges, on which the barons condemned him to pay heavy fines. Becket was mocked by the prelates, threatened by the king's followers, and, in danger of his life, he fled over sea. Then Henry turned adrift all Becket's kindred and banished them from the realm. Mission after mission was sent to the Pope. The courts of Europe were besieged by letters from both sides, by embassies and bribes. Becket dwelt first in the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, then, when the king threatened to expel the whole order from his dominions, he took refuge at Sens in the domains of Louis VII., king of the Franks, his steadfast friend. The Pope feared to provoke the Englishmen, and would take no decided part. Bribes were freely given at his court. 'Why,' said Becket, 'is Rome so often for Barabbas and not for Christ?' Archbishop Thomas went near excommunicating his sovereign, by excommunicating several of his officials for offences against his see and the Church. Six years passed, during which Church affairs were in confusion. Gradually public opinion throughout Europe turned decidedly against Henry. He threatened to join the Emperor Frederic I. in setting up an unlawful Pope. Several attempts were made to reconcile the contending parties, but Becket would make no agreement without the saving clause 'saving my order,' which Henry regarded as making every agreement null. At length the king seemed to give the victory into his opponent's hand. He desired to associate his eldest son with him on the throne. It was the long recognised privilege of the Archbishops of Canterbury to crown kings, but Henry, acting upon a licence of the Pope which had already been rescinded, caused Roger of York to perform the coronation. In

Becket's exile.

a matter seemingly so trivial, right was on Becket's side. The Pope at the same time took courage to pronounce decidedly in his favour. It was clear that the king was in danger of excommunication. He consented to meet Becket at Freteval, July 22, 1170. He consented that the archbishop might inflict punishment on the bishops who had taken part in the coronation. The two old friends seemed to have recovered their old affection. Nothing was said about the Constitutions of Clarendon. Becket returned to England, but the king ominously refused him the kiss of peace.

On December 1, 1170, Becket landed at Sandwich. It was known that he was home-coming, and everywhere the people turned out to meet him, receiving him with rejoicing and psalms.

His return.

He went first to his own cathedral church, and there he preached on the text, 'Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.' One of his faithful friends among the monks spoke as if in prophecy of what was still to happen; but he said nothing. He soon found that he was not to be left free in England: many of the possessions of his see were still in the king's hands: he was required to absolve the bishops whom he had excommunicated without their taking the customary oath of submission: the newly-crowned king, Henry's son, who had been his old pupil, refused to see him. Warnings reached him from every side, but he would not fly. On Christmas Day he celebrated the mass in his cathedral church, and in his sermon spoke of the martyr of Canterbury, S. Alphege; soon, he said, they might have another. Already the king was being enraged by false reports of his doings. 'My lord,' said the Archbishop of York, 'while Thomas lives you will not have peace or quiet, or see another good day.' From his fury it was guessed that he would willingly see his old friend dead. Four knights hastily left the court; Henry sent after

His death.

them, but it was too late. They came to Canterbury on the 29th of December, and when Thomas refused to do their bidding and leave the country, they pursued him into the cathedral church, where he had gone for vespers. 'Where is the traitor?' they cried. 'I am here,' he answered, 'no traitor to the king, but a priest: be it far from me to flee from your swords.' When again they threatened him, he said: 'I am ready to die for my Lord, that in my blood the Church may obtain liberty and

peace. But in the name of Almighty God I forbid you to hurt my people, whether clerk or lay.' Then they struck him to the ground, and calling on God, he gave up his soul by the altar in the chapel of S. Benedict.

The horror with which this foul deed was received throughout Europe, where the archbishop's name was already famous, made Henry surrender all that he had claimed. Bitterly repentant for his share in the death of his old friend, he gave up the Constitutions, and tried to atone by a severe penance and by bringing the Church in Ireland, half conquered by his barons, into close conformity with the English Church. Within three years of the murder the name of Thomas of Canterbury was placed among the saints of the Church. A magnificent building rose over his tomb, in his cathedral church, which became one of the richest and most famous churches in Christendom. Men soon came to believe that the power of God wrought miracles at his shrine; wonderful cures were reported from the faith of pilgrims who visited the scene of the murder. Canterbury became a famous place of pilgrimage. King Louis VII., who had known the martyr in life, came to pray at his tomb; and from every country in Europe pilgrims flocked to Canterbury. New churches were constantly dedicated to his memory, and his fame was preserved throughout the Middle Ages as the most popular of English saints.

The consequences of Becket's death.

Becket's fame is an important illustration of the attitude of Englishmen towards religious questions. As a national saint, as a friend of the poor, an opponent of arbitrary authority, a candid critic of the Papacy, he appealed to the popular imagination which his heroic death had fired to enthusiasm. His cause seemed to be the cause of the oppressed, and still more in the Middle Ages was there sympathy for class struggles and class privilege. His claim, at any rate in its extreme form, is not one which the Church would now make, but it is easy to see how it could be rightly made in his day. The spiritual society, which cares for man's spiritual nature, must always have spiritual rules. If these conflict with other rules, then the members of the spiritual society must be ready to suffer for the faith they believe and the rules they obey. It was so with the martyrs of the early Church: it is

so still. In that sense S. Thomas's provision 'saving my order' must be always necessary. Priests can only act in the ordinary affairs of life with the understanding that they must be loyal above all things to the law of God, to which they are bound. Lay folk, in like manner, must do their work in the world in the light of the revelation that they are citizens also of a heavenly city, whose rules they must obey.

Henry gave up the Constitutions of Clarendon, and nominally surrendered all that he had claimed in the seven years' dispute. With all his violence he was at heart a statesman, and a lover of justice and even of his people. How much he practically gave up it is not very easy now to say. At any rate, he retained the appointment of bishops in his own hands, and he tried in his own courts any clergy who were charged with poaching. In other matters the Church probably won. Clerks were tried and punished by the Church's courts when they pleaded 'benefit of clergy.' And Becket's death for a time won peace. For nearly forty years there was no conflict between Church and State.

Becket's death marks an epoch in our Church history. The kings now recognised that so far as jurisdiction was concerned they must leave the Church to herself. They accepted the principle of William the Conqueror, that lay judges should not intrude themselves into what concerns the cure of souls, and that ecclesiastical persons, as well as things churchly, should be left to the rule of the clerical estate. This led to two results. In the first place, it helped the political forces of England to group themselves definitely into three classes, recognised by the constitution as separate and homogeneous. The Church became the first estate of the realm. She had her own courts, her own laws, her own officers. At every point she acted upon, and was reacted upon by, the State. But she remained a separate, distinct organisation, the Ecclesia Anglicana, with her own distinct liberties, and her ministers were a separate class, if not a caste. In the same way the estates of the baronage and the commons asserted their own privileges and distinctions, and it is significant that it was just after the struggle which ended with the murder of S. Thomas, that we hear of 'the commons' as a separate and constituted class.

Secondly, the Church, as a separate estate, was supported in its position from the centre of Christian Europe. The popes, leaving for a time direct interference with the kings, dealt in friendly manner with the Church, asserting, wherever it was possible, a right to counsel and command. Henry II.'s justiciar would not allow their envoys to land in England without the king's consent, or without showing their letters, and no moneys were allowed to be collected for the Pope's needs. But none the less the Pope seemed the natural head of a separate and organised estate. Henry II. made peace with the Pope. He conquered Ireland, or rather made settlements on its extremities, chiefly in the lands where the Norsemen had ruled before; and his conquest decided that the Irish Church should in all things follow the uses of the Church of England.

Henry's arms, and the power of the English Church, were not stayed by the Scots border. He subdued the Scots, and he took part in a hot debate which vexed the Church of Scotland. A long contest about the King of Scots' appointment to the see of S. Andrews led to the reassertion of the claims of the Archbishop of York to be Metropolitan of the northern sees, and from that to a claim of the Pope that he alone had supreme rule over the Scottish Church. For long the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had contended for this supremacy, but at last the Southern Metropolitan had tacitly abandoned his claim. This squabble, for it was little better, lingered on till Scotland won her freedom from the severe rules which Henry II. had enforced, and the see of York was no longer able to stretch its hand over the bishoprics beyond the Tweed. The development of Scotland continued to progress on feudal lines, and with the power of the Civil Law in her constitution went the feudalisation of her Church. In England different principles brought out very different results.

The Scots Church.

As Henry's power spread over Scotland and Ireland, carrying Church claims with it, so it spread over Wales. His Welsh wars were far from uniformly successful, but the Welsh troops who served in his armies abroad, and the Welsh clergy who came to his court, made union between England and Wales more near. Still there was unreasonable division and unreasonable fear.

Adam, abbat of Abingdon, and Bishop of S. Asaph, would not visit his diocese, and at length gave it up altogether rather than reside therein, 'for fear of the Welsh.' But when the cry of the desolate Christians in the Holy Land reached Europe, common sympathy helped to knit Welsh and English together in support of the Crusade. Archbishop Baldwin brought the Metropolitan authority of Canterbury to bear on Wales by visiting the whole country, with the popular Welshman, Gerald de Barry as his companion, preaching in the towns and villages and on the lonely mountain-sides, and celebrating as primate in the four cathedral churches of Wales.

The Welsh Church.

The ancient see of S. David's throughout the reign of Henry II. and his sons endeavoured to assert its own independence of Canterbury, and supremacy over the other Welsh sees; but the repeated elections of Gerald de Barry were never allowed to be followed by consecration, and he died a disappointed man. The question of Welsh ecclesiastical independence had been carried to Rome before it was settled. Gerald, on a third visit to Rome in 1203, laid before Pope Innocent III. a statement on behalf of the Welsh princes. They declared that from Canterbury bishops were sent who knew not their language, who could only through an interpreter preach or hear confessions, and who wasted the property of the sees, and left the cathedral churches to decay. There was some truth in the complaint, but, in spite of enormous bribery, no notice of it was taken by the papal court. Innocent was too wise to interfere in what was largely a question of politics. The Welsh clergy, it was said by Gerald, were renowned rather for their breeding of cattle and pigs, and their care of their wives and children, than for learning: it might seem therefore to the Pope that it would be best that they should be helped from England. It was certainly high time that the custom of hereditary succession to livings should be stopped, and it may well have been thought that the same custom would have obtained with regard to bishoprics if it had not been for the English supremacy. And the sins of the people themselves showed the need of reformation. 'Rare indeed,' said Gerald, 'are the secular laity (*i.e.* those lay folk who are not monks) who are not involved in some mortal sin.'

Some reformation came from the work of the monks. The Welsh princes welcomed the Cistercians, as they had the Benedictines. Chepstow and Abergavenny and the priory of S. John at Brecon were ancient Benedictine houses. The Augustinian canons settled at Llanthony, the Cistercian monks at Tintern, and houses of these and other orders spread over the land. Great complaints were made of their encroachments on the endowments of the parishes; but their connection with the Church in England and abroad was of service to Wales. It was gradually growing closer to England when the conquest of Llywelyn by Edward I. completed its union with the province of Canterbury.

When Henry II. died, worn out by the toils of a troubled and restless life, he had promised to take part in a Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidel Saracens. The patriarch of Jerusalem had come to him bearing the keys of the Tower of David, and had offered him, on behalf of the feudal lords of the land, the crown of their kingdom. He had turned aside, and men said that from the day of his refusal he had never another happy hour. But Richard, his son, ever full of generous enthusiasm, hot to repent as he was hot to sin, threw himself with all his energy into the Holy War. A new tax was levied on men's goods, a 'Saladin tithe,' to provide for the expedition. Preachers roused the passionate desire of the people to do something to recover from the defiling rule of the paynim the sacred spots where Christ Himself had walked. Promises of eternal happiness to those who fell in the Crusade, of forgiveness to the greatest sinners, helped to swell the hosts. Popes gave to kings the duty of a Crusade as a penance for their sins, and priests followed their example in directing meaner penitents. The spirit of adventure added its powerful attraction to the call; and there is no wonder that the greater part of Richard I.'s reign was passed in peace at home, because so many of the elements of confusion were abroad.

The Crusades.

All the life of those years was coloured by the enthusiasm for the delivery of Christ's Holy Land. Poets sang of it, monks preached, saints painted in glowing colours the glory of the quest and of the reward. New orders sprang into being to capture and

defend 'the patrimony of the Crucified.' Of these the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital soon had important settlements in England, and the Order of S. Thomas at Acre was founded after the capture of that city, to commemorate the English S. Thomas of Canterbury.

Richard left Europe in August 1190, and did not return till March 1194. He had not won the Holy City from the infidel, but his expedition was not without fruit: the Christians were secured in possession of the coast towns, and pilgrimages to the sacred shrines were freely allowed. But he himself won only fame in the war. Says the chronicle of his journeyings: 'His inheritance was seized by another, his Norman castles were taken, his rivals made cruel assaults on his rights without provocation, and he only escaped from captivity by paying a large ransom to the emperor. To gather the money the taxes were raised to the uttermost; a heavy tallage was laid on all his lands, and everything was put under contribution; even the chalices and hallowed vessels of gold and silver were gathered from the churches, and the monasteries gave up their ornaments. Nor was this against the decrees of the holy fathers; nay, it was a duty, for no saint, many though there be, ever during life suffered so much for their Lord as did King Richard in his captivity. He who had gained so many triumphs over the infidels was basely betrayed by the brethren of his own faith, and seized by those who were only in name members of Christ.' If the spirit which led thousands to the Crusade, and drew out loyalty to the king who was the champion of Christendom abroad, inspired deeds of heroism, not unstained, at home the Church was still disturbed by the scandals to which satirists had long called attention.

Richard's absence.

The Crusade which Henry II. planned, and Richard I. carried out, left England to the rule of churchmen. The fabric of government which Henry had built was maintained so long as there lived clerks who had been trained at his court. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, and Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, in turn were the chief ministers of Richard I., and though the first raised against him the hatred of clerk and lay alike, they kept the Government firmly established

The government by ecclesiastics.

over all causes and all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, till Richard I. was dead.

But this placing of churchmen to govern the land led to many abuses. The Church was regarded as the natural avenue to wealth and power, and those in authority did not hesitate, if satirists such as Walter of Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, may be trusted, to enrich their own families by the spoils of religion. Babes, it is said, were given benefices: infants still in cradles were made archdeacons, and the text was quoted that 'out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings was perfected praise.' There were boy-bishops—one of Henry II.'s sons, Geoffrey, whose mother was an Englishwoman named Ykenay, was one of them—while an apple was more to their taste than a dozen churches. Among the bishops of lawful age, most were men of secular training and worldly life. 'What bishop,' wrote Gerald de Barry, 'fulfils the canonical description of the true pastor even in small things?' 'Verily,' says William of Newburgh, 'that apostolic rule, "in honour preferring one another," is so disregarded by the bishops of our time that they, laying aside pastoral care, contend with one another for dignity both in obstinacy and emptiness.' He might well say this, for in 1176, when a papal legate was present at a Church council in London, 'the Archbishop of York, being arrived the earlier, took possession of the chief seat, claiming it for his. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, like a man who has suffered an injury, refused to take the lower room, and solemnly proclaimed his grievance in the matter of the seat that had been taken; but his followers being more fiercely jealous of his dignity, proceeded from a simple strife of words to a brawl. The Archbishop of York was driven with shame from the place he had so prematurely taken, and showed to the legate his torn cope as a mark of the violence used towards him; and he declared that he would summon the Archbishop of Canterbury with his gang before the Holy See. Thus, while the Metropolitans battled, all business was thrown athwart, and the council was not convened but dispersed; and all those who had been summoned and had come together to hold council returned to their own homes.'

Contest between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Clerical dignity was highly prized: it was one of the fruits of

S. Thomas's life-struggle. But clerical duty was neglected : it was the result of the employment of clergy in secular business. Yet there was not lacking the contrast of holy endeavour.

It may be that a little satisfied the monastic annalists. It is recorded as an act of sanctity on the part of S. Thomas that he would descend from his horse to give confirmation. But before the life of S. Hugh of Avalon, prior of Witham in Somerset and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, detraction is silent. He dared to rebuke Henry II. and Richard I. to the face, yet they loved him. 'If the rest of the bishops were such as he, no king or baron would dare to lift up his neck against them,' said Richard. Stories of his holy life were told all over the land, of his washing the sores of lepers, of his quiet simplicity, asceticism, love of animals. A swan was his constant companion at his manor of Stow : in the trust which the wild creature had of him, men saw a proof of his nearness to God. He could stand up when need be to protect the rights of the Church ; and when Richard died there was no one whom he would have to minister to him but the saintly bishop who had never feared the face of kings.[1]

S. Hugh of Lincoln.

But lives of quietness and confidence were the exception in the twelfth century. The monastic claims to freedom from episcopal control, supported often by the popes, were a fertile source of dispute between monasteries and bishops. Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1193-1205, was engaged in a long quarrel with the convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, as his predecessor Baldwin had already been. Both archbishops were defeated by the monks. Hugh of Nunant tried to substitute canons for monks at Coventry ; Savaric did the same at Wells. Geoffrey, King Henry's son, quarrelled with the chapter of York. In all these cases the victory in the long-run was not with the bishops. The popes were helping to build up in England a strong power which should support them in their claims when the kings and the people were hostile.

John found himself held in check by a statesmanlike archbishop and by a great Pope. Innocent III. was determined to make his power felt in every land. Hubert Walter was his legate, and held councils under his direction. When he died, the monks of

[1] S. Hugh is commemorated in the English Church on November 17.

Christ Church, Canterbury, elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to be archbishop, and sent him off to Rome in hot haste and secrecy to win the Pope's consent. But Reginald talked of his election: the king required another to be made, and while the bishops of the province claimed to elect, the monks made another election, by John's order choosing the Bishop of Norwich. All parties appealed to the Pope: he declared both elections void, and then caused the monks, who were still at Rome, to choose Stephen Langton, an Englishman, who was his own friend and a cardinal, then in Rome. No better choice could have been made; but the Pope's arbitrary order to make it roused great indignation in the king. He furiously denounced Innocent, banished the monks of Canterbury, and refused to receive Stephen. Innocent was not satisfied with half measures. When the king would not yield he directed the English bishops to lay the whole land under an interdict. 'Throughout the whole land,' say the Annals of the Cistercian abbey of Waverley, 'all the divine offices ceased, save only the baptism of infants and the confession and absolution of the dying.' It was a terrible punishment to the whole land for the king's acts; but there were many exceptions to the formal rule, and the Cistercians for some time continued to celebrate the Eucharist in spite of the order.

John and the election to Canterbury.

The interdict.

John held out for some time. He took the property of all those who obeyed the Pope, seized the wives of the clergy and put them to ransom, by his tyranny broke up the university of Oxford, and refused all justice to the whole clerical estate. His tyranny spread from the Church to the State; and the condition of England became intolerable. John refused the terms offered by the Pope through his legate Pandulf. He was excommunicated. At last a superstitious terror came upon him: a fanatic told him he should not be king after Ascension Day, 1213. He made an abject submission, declared that he was unable to make any worthy offering but humbling himself and his realm, and on May 15, 1213, gave up the realms of England and Ireland to the Pope, receiving back and holding them henceforth as a fief from the Roman Church, and paying a yearly tribute of a thousand marks. In his oath of fealty he

John's submission to the Pope.

declared that he would defend the patrimony of blessed Peter, and especially the realm of England and the realm of Ireland.

It was a shameful submission, which England scorned. But it made for peace and good government. Stephen Langton came to take possession of his see, and when John lapsed again into tyranny he appealed to the Great Charter of Henry I., and was the leader of the barons in winning redress. For the clergy who had been dispossessed and ill-treated, there was no redress. The Pope's legate was not now willing to make an enemy of John, and the Pope himself held his hand to see what would happen.

John, in November 1214, tried to detach the clergy from the cause of the barons by issuing a charter granting freedom of election to bishoprics and monasteries. It was too late. The wise archbishop joined with the barons of England in winning Magna Carta, June 15, 1215, and its first clause recognised the rights of the Church. 'We have,' says the first clause, 'in the first place granted to God, and confirmed by this our present charter, that the Church of England shall be one, and have her rights intact and her liberties uninjured.'

Magna Carta.

In some degree this great charter undid the concession of the kingdom to the Pope. Innocent absolved John from his oaths to it, and suspended Stephen Langton. But a strong party was formed which looked with more and more disgust on the arbitrary power of the popes, and the venality of their court. When John died, and the French who had invaded the land were driven out, there was a strong feeling which demanded England for the English. The bones of S. Thomas were translated to a new shrine in the now magnificent cathedral church of Canterbury in 1220; Stephen Langton preached a great sermon on the merits of the martyr, and men held his memory up to admiration as one who had opposed the royal tyranny, and was before all things a national saint. But, on the other hand, a strong papal party was growing up in the land. The bishops looked to Rome for support and advancement; the monasteries looked to be freed from the control of their bishops.

Growth of papal power.

From Magna Carta onwards we notice the working out of the papal supremacy. In Scotland the popes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were able, through English weakness, to

definitely establish their direct supremacy. Legates were continually sent to hold councils, and sometimes the legation was given to Scottish bishops. In the treaty of Falaise, 1174, by which Scotland submitted to Henry II., the Scots

In Scotland.

:h somewhat ambiguously admitted the supremacy of the sh. But Roger of York, Becket's enemy, was never able to lish his metropolitan authority. Henry II. would not allow al legate to land unless he promised that he would attempt ag against the interests of England. Such legations, as the stic chronicles show, were far from popular. But the Church till in a disordered state. In 1222 Adam, Bishop of Caithwas murdered by Norsemen for his exaction of tithes. The Glasgow claimed to be the 'peculiar daughter of the Church me,' and the freedom from all metropolitan authority was ised at Rome.

liam the Lion founded the Trinitarians or Red Friars at Aberdeen, and the great abbey of Arbroath. Alexander II. (1214-1249) warmly supported the friars. They became warm supporters of the papal claims: they raised up scholars among the people, and the famous friar, John Duns, the 'subtile Doctor,' spread the famous name of Scot throughout Europe. But in the disordered state of the country the papal power grew; as the years went on Scotland became more papal, and at the same time her bishops became more secularised and her Church more corrupt.

In England the course of affairs was different, but it tended equally towards the increase of papal power. When King John died in 1216, the Papacy saw the wisdom of accepting Magna Carta, which Innocent III. had condemned, and of helping on the revival of national feeling. The legate warmly supported the barons who expelled the French, and then encouraged the special honour paid to English saints. At the consecration of Worcester cathedral church, June 16, 1218, the bones of S. Wulfstan were 'translated' thither with great pomp. In 1220 S. Hugh of Lincoln was canonised, and in the same year the body of S. Thomas was 'translated.' The next few years saw a constant growth of papal assumption. The popes began to flood England with foreigners, appointing, wherever and whenever they

In England.

could, Italians to English sees and livings, and looking to Englishmen to support their needs by a constant and ruinous taxation. A modern Roman Catholic clergyman expressed the state of affairs most clearly when he wrote that 'the history of Henry III.'s transactions with the court of Rome discloses to us a long course of oppression, under which the English clergy, by the united influence of the crown and the tiara, were compelled to submit to the most grievous exactions.' At the same time Langton turned earnestly to the work of Church Reform.

He died in 1228. In the last years of his life he was supported by a new and most powerful agent of reformation. From 1220-1224, the mendicant orders, the Black Friars, founded by the Spanish noble S. Dominic, and the Grey Friars, founded by S. Francis of Assisi, came to England. They were followed by the Carmelites (White Friars) and the Austin Friars. The friars were the result of a new impulse quite distinct from that which founded the monastic orders, and the friars were always quite different from the monks. The aim of their founders was to deal directly with the world, by meeting its scepticism, brutality, sin, and suffering, through the work of preaching, teaching, and ministering in hospitals: the monks continued to teach the world indirectly through the influence of cloistered lives devoted to study and prayer. The friars soon spread over England, settling among the masses of the population who lived outside the larger towns, free from the control of the trading corporations, and utterly neglected by the Church. Leprosy and many other foul diseases were rife among these untouched herds of poor folk, crowded together in close courts, or on the swamps by the rivers outside the town walls. There the friars first sought and found their home. They brought the Church to the people, and before long the people also to the Church. Beginning with work which was wholly ministerial, preaching, praying, nursing, they soon found themselves obliged also to deal with other classes than the poor, and with intellectual as well as material difficulties. The friaries were from the first in the most crowded parts of the towns—where the name often survives; and the citizens as well as the outcasts soon flocked to hear the friars. St. Dominic had always intended his order to be before all things

The coming of the friars.

preachers of the Christian faith and righteousness. S. Francis had willed his followers to be beggars, and to live among those who begged. But the whole religious enthusiasm of the age was drawn towards the mendicant order, and soon they became famous for their learning. Oxford, with its university of scholars, passed almost entirely under their control. In all the great towns the friars had settlements, and everywhere their work tended to raise the whole standard of social as well as religious life. The bishops welcomed them as great missionaries among their people, and though the parish clergy did not always welcome their interference, they became famous as preachers and confessors. In 1224 Grosseteste, afterwards the most famous English prelate of his day, was rector of the Oxford Franciscans: Adam of Marsh, the lifelong friend of Simon de Montfort, and the adviser and correspondent of kings and queens, was also among their members. In 1273 Robert Kilwardby became Archbishop of Canterbury, and before this another Franciscan, Bonaventura, had refused to be Archbishop of York. Scholarship, philosophy, natural science, were led by Alexander Hales, John Duns, and Roger Bacon, all friars. In politics the friars, themselves sons of the people, were always on the popular side. They were the most enthusiastic supporters of Simon de Montfort when he led the barons against Henry III., and their songs brought the events of the day, the restoration of the popes and the kings, into the talk of every town and village in the land. As time went on, they were unable to resist the popular desire to build them great houses and fine churches, and gradually as luxury increased, they sank from their first position. But the time of their influence was a time of constant growth of papal power, for they were in close connection with Rome, and were firm supporters of the papal claims.

These claims under Henry III. reached to an alarming height. The popes, whose wise help had preserved the crown for the young king, expected now to reap the reward of their care. In 1226, Pope Honorius III. demanded two prebends in every cathedral church, and two monks' portion in every monastery for the support of the Roman Church for ever. His successors claimed to present to English benefices by 'provision,' a right originally exercised by the popes to fill up

Extravagance of papal claims.

the vacancy on the death of a priest at Rome, to save time in supplying ministrations, and gradually extended till it included the benefices of all those who were under promise of pilgrimage, which was a very large proportion of the clergy. Not content with this, the popes sent agents continually to England to collect subscriptions for their needs. Of the condition of England at the time a monastic historian, Matthew Paris of S. Alban's, writes thus: 'The fire of the faith had grown so exceeding cold, that it was well-nigh reduced to ashes. Simony was everywhere practised without shame. Every day the most illiterate persons of the lowest class, armed with Roman bulls, exacted by threats the revenues left by our pious forefathers for the maintenance of the religious, the support of the poor, and the sustaining of strangers. If any appealed, they procured their excommunication.' Henry, anxious to serve God, and submissive from his childhood to the Papacy which had been his guardian, allowed legates freely to land in England, to hold councils and to exact money. In 1238 the papal legate Otto was mobbed by the scholars at Oxford, and had to fly for his life. In 1240 the Pope demanded a fifth of the clergy's goods for his war against the emperor; and Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, a humble saint, who could not stand against the repeated demands, when he with the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury received an order from the Pope to provide for three hundred Romans in the first benefices that fell vacant, left the kingdom in despair and went to the abbey of Pontigny, where his predecessor S. Thomas had taken refuge. Before the end of the year he died, exclaiming again and again, 'How much better to depart than to behold the evils of my nation and of the saints upon the earth.' In the same year the English clergy sent a protest against the constant exactions, declaring that the Roman Church had its proper patrimony, and had no right to exact theirs, and that the churches were 'related to the Pope in the way of care and protection, and not of dominion and proprietorship.'

On S. Edmund's death, the monks of Christ Church were compelled to choose Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle, a man who at first joined in the depredations of the Pope, but eventually espoused the cause of the National Church. The strongest

opposition, however, came from the great Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln. Master Martin, a new legate, came to England in 1242, exacting money in fashion so shameless that the king himself protested. Grosseteste went to remonstrate with the Pope. 'Oh, money, money, what power thou hast especially in the court of Rome,' he cried, but the Pope dismissed him with contumely. He returned, more anxious than ever to reform his diocese, enforce his authority over the monasteries which declared themselves exempt from his visitation, and preserve the freedom of the English Church. In 1250 he again remonstrated in person with the papal court, tracing all the evils of the Church to the corruption of the Roman court and the greed of the Romans. Such a point did the abuse reach, says Matthew Paris, 'that the bishop of Lincoln being struck with amazement at it, caused his clerks carefully to reckon all the revenues of foreigners in England, and it was discovered and found for truth that the present Pope, Innocent IV., had pauperised the whole Church more than all his predecessors from the time of the primitive Papacy. The revenue of the alien clerks, whom he had planted in England, and whom the Roman Church had enriched, amounted to 70,000 marks. The king's revenue could not be reckoned at more than a third part of the sum.' Well might the popular satirist sing:

Bishop Robert Grosseteste.

'Free and held in high esteem the clergy used to be,
None were there cherished more or loved more heartily.
Enslaved now, betrayed, brought low,
They are abased sore
By those from whom their help should come:
I dare no more.
King and Pope, alike in this, to one purpose hold,
How to make the clergy yield their silver and their gold.'

At, last in 1253, Grosseteste flatly refused to obey the Pope's order to invest his nephew with the next vacant prebend of Lincoln. He was still a boy, he was not in Holy Orders, he had no intention to visit England. 'These "provisions," as they are called,' said Grosseteste, 'are not to edification, but to manifest destruction.' It was his last act. He died in the same year, protesting with his last breath against the way in which the popes tried to exercise

their authority over England. He left behind him the name of 'an open rebuker of pope and king, the corrector of bishops, the reformer of the monks, the instructor of the clergy, the persecutor of the incontinent, a careful reader of the Scriptures, the hammer of the Romans whom he despised.'

After Grosseteste's death the country became more and more disturbed. Many bishops took the barons' part in the long contentions which led finally to war. When the war began, Church life was at a standstill. Bishops like Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas, his nephew, who became Bishop of Hereford, friars like Adam of Marsh, actively supported Simon de Montfort, the leader of the barons. He was a religious man, but he had much of the persecuting spirit of his father, who had led a crusade against heretics in southern Gaul. In the chronicles of the time he appears as 'zealous for the law,' a defender of Church and people, watchful, temperate, austere; yet a persecutor of Jews, 'not free from the guilt of robbery and murder.'

The barons' war.

It is to this time that there belongs the most famous of the many strange stories in which the popular dislike to the Jews, who, it may be remembered, were then the only 'dissenters,' found expression. In 1255 it is said that the Jews of Lincoln, a wealthy colony, of whom there is still a memorial in a fine stone house yet standing, stole a boy named Hugh, and did him to death in mockery of the Passion and Crucifixion. Similar tales were spread abroad in many shires. S. William ot Norwich in 1144, Harold of Gloucester in 1168, Robert of Edmundsbury in 1181, a nameless boy buried in great state in S. Paul's in London in 1244, were the precursors of the 'little S. Hugh.' His shrine became the most popular in the cathedral. Such stories show the violence of public feeling, of which Earl Simon took advantage when he plundered the Jews. The clergy discouraged the persecution, the more perhaps because they themselves suffered constantly from the extortion of papal legates.

Little S. Hugh.

Constant demands for money to support the Pope's dignity and the Pope's wars, the intrusion of foreigners into English livings, the power of the king's foreign kinsfolk, Boniface of Savoy (Arch-

bishop of Canterbury) and Aymer of Valence (bishop-elect of Winchester), made the condition of the clergy and the monks intolerable, and called loudly for reform. At the great Council of Oxford, 1258, it was ordered that 'the state of the Holy Church be amended,' but little or nothing was done, and as the political troubles grew, the religious difficulties seem to have been forgotten. Yet the reforming work of the friars continued, and from within, rather than from without, the Church gained new strength. After 1266 the land was again at peace, and though there was an attempt to reverence Simon de Montfort as a saint, the Church suppressed it, since he died excommunicate. In spite of this, the war had shown that the Church belonged to no party, for bishops had been of both sides, and of the monastic chroniclers some were enthusiastic for the barons' cause, some steadfast supporters of the king. Henry III.'s long reign came to an end in 1272. It had sorely embittered the feelings of Englishmen against the Roman court. It had impoverished and degraded the Church. But noble works of conversion, of healing, and of education had been done by the new mendicant orders, and saintly lives were still lived in high places as well as among the poor, as the history of S. Richard of Chichester, whom the English Church still remembers in her kalendar,[1] may show.

The reign of Edward I. was an important one for the Church. The hatred of the Romans, which had led, in 1259, to the murder of three, one of whom had been 'provided' by the Pope to a prebend in S. Paul's, in London, was not diminished by the action of the papal legate Ottobon, in 1266, in laying London under an interdict and several bishops under severe censure for their conduct in the recent war. The 'ban of Kenilworth,' which ended the war, declared the Church to be free. It remained to be seen how a new king would interpret the freedom.

Edward I.

Edward I., a loyal, truthful, religious man, was hampered from the first by his father's debts and the debts of the Crusade in which he had taken part after the Barons' War. The example of his father had shown him that the Church had wealth which could be seized. The Cistercians were the great sheep-farmers of

[1] He is commemorated on April 3.

England in the thirteenth century: and their wool was again and again seized for the royal necessities. The small incomes of the parish priests were often taxed: the large revenues of the bishops were made to pay heavy dues. A new valuation of church property was made in 1291, and three years later Edward actually demanded one-half of the revenues of the clergy. It is said that the Dean of S. Paul's died of terror in the presence of the stern king when this demand was made.

Taxation.

Edward did not intend that the Church should pay and yet have no share in the government of the country. 'What touches all should be approved by all' was his political motto. To the Parliament, which he organised afresh in 1295, he summoned, besides the barons and the representatives of the Commons, the bishops and greater abbats who had always sat in the Great Council of the realm, with the archdeacons, two representatives of each cathedral chapter, and two of the clergy of each diocese. It was his desire that each estate of the realm should have a full share in the government of the whole land. But class feeling and class interests had grown steadily among the clergy, and they were exceedingly jealous of State interference, and suspicious of what might be the outcome of their combination with the laity in one general assembly. Then the clerical representatives rarely attended the national Parliament, and the clergy continued to tax themselves in their convocations. The bishops and abbats did not, however, withdraw from the Great Council, and remained integral parts of the House of Lords when its constitution was perfected.

Growth of class feeling.

Many causes contributed at this time to sunder ecclesiastics from the laity. Not least was the growing dislike of the increase of church property which, by the benefactions to monasteries and churches, had become very large. Church property, and the property of all corporations, was not subject to the ordinary feudal burdens, and as there was no break in the succession to such property through the death of individual owners or the failure of heirs, it paid nothing of the nature of succession duty. Earlier attempts had been made to restrict the grant of land to religious and other corporations whereby the lords were deprived of their feudal dues; and in 1279 the Statute of Mortmain was

passed, which, with a view to prevent the passing of land into *mort main* (i.e. *dead hand*, ecclesiastical persons being considered as dead to the world), ordered that all grants of land in such manner should be void, and the land should fall to the chief lord of the fief. The restriction thus made proved extremely irksome, but the ingenuity of lawyers did not fail to discover many ways of evading it, and new laws were from time to time necessary. The kings, however, occasionally gave licences to 'hold land in mortmain,' and Parliament has made many exceptions to the law.

Statute of Mortmain.

While disputes concerning property disturbed the relation of Church and State on the one hand, on the other the claims of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were still thought to conflict with the rights of the king. Archbishop Kilwardby had refrained from any measure which might irritate Edward, but his successor, John of Peckham, appointed in 1278 by the Pope, in a council at Reading, 1279, issued 'constitutions' which threatened all who interfered with ecclesiastical courts. This at once led to a dispute in which the archbishop had to yield; and in 1285 Edward issued a writ *Circumspecte agatis*, subsequently embodied in a statute. This defined the provinces of the lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and allowed the clergy to judge all matters of a purely spiritual nature, cases concerning church fees and tithes, defamation and breach of faith.

Writ, Circumspecte agatis.

Thus settlements, at least for a time, were procured for some of the pressing questions, but the chief of the difficulties remained unsolved. It was necessary for the king to obtain as much money as possible from the clergy: they believed themselves to be overtaxed, and most probably they were. Then the new archbishop, Robert of Winchelsea (1294), was a man of determined character, as little disposed as Edward himself to yield where he believed himself to be in the right. The crisis came when Pope Boniface VIII. in 1296 issued a bull by which he declared that any ecclesiastic who should hereafter pay any taxes to laymen should be excommunicate. The object of this declaration was primarily to prevent the carrying on of unjust wars by the forced contributions of the clergy; but it asserted a claim to which it was impossible that kings would submit. The

Bull, Clericis laicos.

archbishop published the ordinance in January 1297, when Edward had already demanded a large grant from the clergy, and when they declared that they were bound by the Pope's bull to refuse, he put them all outside the protection of the law. The Convocation of York yielded at once, but the southern province held out. The goods of many of the clergy were thereupon distrained, the property of the Bishop of Lincoln (Oliver Sutton) would have been sold but that his friends managed to compromise for a fifth of his goods, and the archbishop was forced to leave his palace and live in a rectory with one priest and a clerk. The determination with which Winchelsea met his demands forced Edward to modify them. The primate was allowed to recover his property, and a new Convocation, August 1297, met to find a way out of the difficulty. At first it seemed hopeless in face of Winchelsea's stubborn attitude; but an ingenious solution was offered by the Pope's addressing a letter to the French king by which he declared that while his bull forbade the clergy to grant taxes at the request of the State, it did not prevent their offering free gifts. It was a simple and satisfactory arrangement. The king refrained from asking, and at the end of the year 1297 the Convocation of Canterbury voted a tenth for war against the Scots, and the Convocation of York a fifth.

While thus one financial difficulty was removed, another remained. The Pope still demanded money for his own needs. If he had been content merely to tax the clergy, and if no dispute had arisen between him and Edward I., it is probable that no violent rupture between England and the Papacy would have taken place. As it was, when Edward proceeded to put his claims over Scotland into effect, Boniface VIII., in a bull, dated June 27, 1299, claimed Scotland as his own, and forbade the king to attack that country. The barons answered from the Parliament of Lincoln in 1301, that 'the said realm did not at any time pertain, nor does it pertain by any manner of right, to the Church aforesaid,' but to the kings of the English as overlords. This letter was garnished with many respectful expressions towards the Pope as a spiritual authority, but it was followed by the Statute of Carlisle in 1307, which directly forbade the sending of money abroad for religious purposes.

English protests against Rome.

Edward I. died in the same year, July 7, 1307. Edward II., weak and idle, left the Church to herself. Winchelsea, who in the last dispute with the late king had been charged with treason and had left the kingdom, returned. When he died in 1313 the Pope disallowed the free election of the Canterbury monks, and stated that he had long reserved the archbishopric for his own disposal. He then gave it to Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, a despicable creature, who was the king's Chancellor, and whom the Pope considered 'knew how to walk in dangerous times.' Following this precedent, which of course was gladly allowed by the king, the next Pope, John XX., reserved in 1317 the appointment to Worcester, Hereford, Durham, and Rochester; in 1320, Lincoln and Winchester; in 1322, Lichfield; in 1323, Winchester; in 1325, Carlisle and Norwich; in 1327, Worcester, Exeter, and Hereford; in 1329, Bath; in 1333, Durham; in 1334, again Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester. Precedents so numerous naturally led to the Pope's practically engrossing the control of all episcopal appointments. Nor was this all. In 1326 it is recorded that more than half of the cathedral patronage belonging to the Bishop of Salisbury had been filled up by the Pope. In 1308 Edward II. yielded without a blow to the Pope's order for the trial of the Knights Templars. The Order had had great power in England, but it was unable to stand against the Pope, and when it was suppressed its property was confiscated by the crown. In 1316 questions arose again concerning the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and an *articulus cleri* (bill of the Lower House of Convocation) was accepted with answers by the king: it served on the whole to extend the power of the Church courts. The time was out of joint. Archbishop Simon of Meopham was an ineffectual successor to Reynolds. He died in 1333, and Archbishop Stratford, who was already treasurer, was less willing to surrender national independence.

Papal aggression continued.

There were signals which seemed to betoken important changes. The Church was no longer the power in the land that it had been. The friars, within a century of their foundation, had become unpopular: the zeal for endowing monasteries showed a perceptible diminution. It was significant that Walter de Merton, Bishop of

Rochester, when he founded a college at Oxford, forbade its members to enter any religious order. Men's minds under Edward II. and Edward III. were occupied with foreign wars, and with terrible distress within their own land.

The great pestilence, which began in 1348, transformed the face of England, and weakened the Church beyond recovery for many a year. The Archbishop of Canterbury and many of the prominent ecclesiastics fell victims. While it is probable that quite half the population was carried off, the mortality among the clergy was in a much higher proportion. At the beginning of 1349 it is said that the diocese of Bath and Wells could not find enough priests to perform the last offices for those dying of the plague. The plague soon spread over all England, and in the next year it reached Scotland. In the county of Norfolk two-thirds of the parish clergy died ; in Nottingham and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, a half. At Newton-Purcell, a little village in North Oxfordshire, there were no less than six rectors between 1349 and 1354. In the monasteries the rate of mortality was still higher. Great as was the change wrought all over England, it was greater in the eastern counties. Norwich, once the second city in the kingdom, now sank to be the sixth. The suffering caused to all classes was beyond expression. It touched every one : the poet Langland says it fell like 'the rain that raineth where we rest should' ; it came again and again, in 1361, 1368, 1375, 1385, 1390, and indeed for the last half of the fourteenth century England cannot be said ever to have been free of the terrible scourge. The effects on the religious life of the country may be plainly seen in the history of the century. Universal suffering led to discontent with every existing institution. While some turned to a more serious way of life, others plunged into wild excesses. The growth of luxury and display is the theme of every writer of the time. The monks, it is said, added largely to their property, and began that style of living which made them victims in the end of the greed of king and nobles. There are tales of parish clergy deserting their cures and coming to live in London, free from the restraints of Lent, and ready for the gaieties of Christmas.

The Black Death.

The friars and the monks came in for the largest share of

criticism : their decay had set in. During the fourteenth century there were sixty-four new religious houses founded. In the twelfth century there had been four hundred and forty ; in the thirteenth, two hundred and ninety-six. Colleges were being built instead of monasteries, new foundations in which clerks could come to study and prepare for a life not necessarily ecclesiastical. In the fourteenth century the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, already famous throughout Europe, received great accessions of strength. Among the colleges then founded were Exeter at Oxford, by Bishop Stapylton in 1314 ; Oriel in 1326, by benefaction of Edward II. with humbler donors ; and Queen's College, under the patronage of Edward III.'s queen, Philippa, with the aid of Robert of Eglesfield. At Cambridge, S. Peter's College began before the century, Gonville Hall and Clare in the midst of it. Winchester was even more prominently coming forward as a place of education through the work of William of Wykeham. Of this great bishop a word may here be said. Of his character at the time of his consecration in 1367 a contemporary writes thus : 'Remembering what heights he had climbed, what as a layman he had neglected, he did his best to redeem the time. Wherefore he set before himself this rule of life : to be on equal terms with his servants, humble to priests, kind to the people, compassionate to the wretched, bountiful to the needy. Considering that he was made the father of many peoples, he thought that the truest step towards renewal must begin with himself, and that if he first learnt to rule himself he would really be able to rule others in the right way.' His generosity and munificence were famous, and his work as bishop was done with a self-denial uncommon in his times. It is hardly to be wondered at that John of Gaunt was his enemy, that he was deprived of his offices and excluded from Parliament. Such bishops were the strength of the Church against her opponents. From 1373 to 1393 the magnificent foundation of the two colleges of S. Mary at Winchester and Oxford was being completed. They were not only a splendid institution of charity, but a great ecclesiastical corporation ; and they did much to prevent the separation of learning from the Church, which was a growing cause of danger to religion.

Founding of colleges.

William of Wykeham.

While William of Wykeham thus endeavoured to supply the

lack of teachers, which was one great cause of the religious difficulties of the time, and while the social distress was pressing sorely on the Church as well as the people, the growing irritation against the extortion and constant interference of the popes and the corruption of the Roman court found expression in legislation. Edward III. would not tamely submit to the Pope's demands. 'If the King of England were to ask for an ass for bishop,' said Clement VI. in 1345, 'we may not say him nay.' In 1351, though without the consent of the Lords Spiritual, the first Statute of Provisors was passed. It was confirmed in 1391, and it represents the strong feeling of the nation against papal aggression, which eventually found full expression in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It declared that whereas of old, English cures were served by English folk, the Pope of Rome, accroaching to himself the lordship of such possessions and benefices, doth give and grant the same to aliens who never dwelt in England and to cardinals who could not dwell there, and to others, both aliens and denizens, as if he had been patron of these dignities and benefices, as he was not of right by the law of England, and also he retains to himself the first-fruits, it was therefore now decreed that free appointment and free election should be maintained, and that where the Pope endeavoured to collate or provide to a benefice, his act should be void and the appointment fall to the king. Severe penalties were added against those who broke this Act, and it was intended to prevent papal 'provisions' for ever. It began also the custom, retained to the present day, of preserving the election to bishoprics by the cathedral chapter, and at the same time conveying the king's wishes in the matter by a letter from him sent before the election (the *congé d'élire* giving licence to elect, the letter missive naming the king's choice).

Statute of Provisors.

Two years later an Act of equal importance was passed. The Statute of Praemunire, 1353, reinforced in 1393, was directed against the papal encroachments on the royal jurisdiction. It begins by reciting a complaint that many had been called out of the realm to answer charges, the trial of which belongs to the king's court, and that the king's judgments are set aside in a foreign court; and it orders that any carrying such a suit out of the country shall answer for

The Statute of Praemunire.

their act before the king and his council or some other royal court, and in default shall be outlawed and their lands, goods, and chattels forfeited to the king, and their bodies, wheresoever they shall be found, be taken and imprisoned and ransomed at the king's will. This Act undoubtedly reduced the evil; but it was evaded, after repeated papal protests had proved ineffectual, by a system of sending judges to act as the Pope's representatives in England and hear cases without carrying them outside the country.

The irritation which found expression in the Acts of Provisors and Praemunire was strengthened by the development of a distinctly national sentiment, fostered by the wars of Edward I. and Edward III. English became more commonly used in law, in preaching, in offices of devotion. The national feeling needed an exponent; it is not surprising that the exponent proved to be in advance of the feeling which produced him, or that the new movement for reform was directed against much which the Church held dear. The universities had become representative of the intellect of the country, and of its religion, and in Oxford arose John Wyclif (1320-1384), a man of great learning and remarkable powers of expression, both in English and Latin, who could argue with the learned on their own ground, and arouse the people in the vulgar tongue.

Growth of national sentiment.

If Becket represents the religion of the twelfth century in its common aspect, Wyclif represents the religion of the fourteenth century in its most revolutionary form. Directly he did not influence the movement which was successfully carried through by Henry VIII.: he was rather a Protestant before Protestantism than a Reformer before the Reformation. But his importance in his own day can hardly be exaggerated.

John Wyclif.

Born in 1320 at Wyclif-on-Tees, he became a student at the northern college in Oxford, Balliol, which had been founded by the lords of Barnard Castle, a town near his birthplace. In 1360 he was Master of Balliol, in 1361 he became rector of Fillingham in Lincolnshire. He soon returned to the south. He became a famous teacher, and he was known far outside his university as a stalwart supporter of the royal party against the Pope. In the

court there was a party jealous of the influence of churchmen, but not interested in reform. It was glad of support from a spiritual reformer; and in 1366 it was Wyclif who drew up the repudiation of the yearly tribute to the Pope (promised by John, but rarely paid) which Parliament now refused to continue. In this document he stated the views which he afterwards developed at length. The Church was vowed to poverty: the owning of property was a departure from original rightfulness. Again, the tribute was not due, because the Pope did nothing in return for it. These were the two arguments on which the rejection was based. They were drawn out in two treatises on Divine Dominion and Civil Dominion. Since all men held their possessions of God, and by the same service, the service of righteousness, it was clear, Wyclif argued, that sin, which lost man the favour of God, lost him also his possessions. All dominion, spiritual or temporal, depended on grace. This doctrine it was the duty of the State to put into practice. 'From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have.'

In the State this involved a belief in Communism, that the best way of holding property was holding it by men in common. In the Church it involved the surrender of all endowments. The Pope was of right a spiritual officer only. His temporal power was contrary to Holy Scripture. Now no teaching could be more pleasant than this to those who, like John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Edward III.'s active and unscrupulous son, desired to rob the Church of her property for their own purposes. The author of this convenient theory was richly rewarded, while the clerical ministers of State were dismissed. William of Wykeham was driven from the office of Chancellor in 1371; Wyclif, in 1374, was given the crown living of Lutterworth, and he was sent, with the Bishop, Adam Houghton, of S. David's, and others, to confer with papal emissaries on the still vexed question of 'provisions.' The king's weakness, the defeats, intrigues, and scandals which clouded the last years of his reign, account for the fact that the Statute of Provisors was now suspended. In 1376 the 'Good Parliament' gave its attention to religious questions. It received petitions protesting against the robbery of the country by the Pope, one of which prayed 'for remedy thereof that no papal collector be

allowed in England upon pain of life and limb, and that no Englishman become any such collector or remain at the court of Rome.'

It was feeling such as that which Wyclif expressed, probably in a sermon in London in 1377, which led to his being cited to appear before the bishops at S. Paul's. He came, but he came attended by John of Gaunt and Lord Percy, two discreditable politicians, yet powerful protectors. The investigation of Wyclif's opinions became a mere squabble, and he escaped for the time. Early in 1377 the Pope, Gregory XI., issued five bulls against his errors, ordering further that he should be arrested and examined, and that the results of his examination should be sent to Rome. At this point Edward III. died, and proceedings were no doubt delayed in consequence. Wyclif drew up a defence of his writings that were charged with heresy; and at the same time he was advising the Parliament in the matter of papal taxation. The university of Oxford received the Pope's bulls after considerable hesitation, and ordered Wyclif to remain within Black Hall while his opinions were being examined. After examination it decided that they were not unlawful. In London he was protected by the Princess of Wales, the widow of the popular hero, the Black Prince. Less creditable was his association with John of Gaunt, and his defence of some of his least justifiable proceedings. The dispute was now complicated by the condition of the Church abroad. On the death of Gregory XI. in 1378 two rival popes were elected by two parties among the cardinals. Urban VI. resided at Rome, and Clement VII. at Avignon. The great schism thus created lasted for more than forty years to the scandal of Europe. The pitiful incongruity of the situation with the Christian ideal of righteousness and peace led many people to accept the conclusions which Wyclif gradually published. Which is Pope, Urban VI. or Clement VII.? he asked. One is considered a heretic in France, one in England: in truth they are both heretics. The Pope as Pope is Antichrist, he is Satan's chief vicar, and to venerate him is more detestable than idolatry. The political degradation of the Papacy made men willing to listen to the attacks on its religious claims. Wyclif retorted the charge of heresy which was levelled

His political friends.

The great schism.

at him from Rome. It was deadly heresy, he declared, for a pope to sell remission of sin for this life and the next; and yet Bishop Spencer of Norwich was selling in England, by authority of Urban VI., absolution for the living and the dead.

The great schism undoubtedly caused the development of Wyclif's views. He criticised first the Pope, then the Papacy, then the Church. He wrote tracts in clear, trenchant English, learned scholastic treatises in Latin, sermons which all people could understand. He translated, with the aid of his pupils, the whole Bible into English. He then attacked the teaching of the Church on fundamental points. He definitely denied the doctrine of transubstantiation laid down by the Lateran Council of 1215, viz. that the substance of the bread and wine was changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. Not content with this, he went on to deny the presence of Christ in the Sacrament in any real sense at all. He further denied the necessity of bishops, and declared that a pious layman could celebrate the Holy Communion. So far he wrote of doctrines which had no very direct bearing on the troubles of the day: he then passed to the condemnation of the system of indulgences.

Wyclif's heresy.

Indulgences granted by the Pope were believed to free the soul, through the prayers of the faithful, from the punishment of sin: in popular teaching also it was added that they freed from guilt. A whole tribe of 'pardoners' went about the country selling these indulgences for money to supply the Pope's demands. It is possible that the system originally may have been innocent; it is certain that in the fourteenth century it was corrupt and heretical, and told directly in favour of immorality. Wyclif declared that these indulgences were blasphemies and lies. The churches, the writers of the time declared, were full of false relics made of 'pigge's bones'; indulgences, Wyclif declared, were falsehoods even more detestable. From doctrines such as these he passed to the condemnation of organisations within the Church which caused the multiplication of evils. The Templars were already gone; the Hospitallers, too, he declared, should be abolished; the chantries, in which masses were said for the souls of the departed, and even the universities and the friars, should be totally disendowed. Step by

Indulgences.

The friars.

step his hatred of the friars grew. They were 'sects' who destroyed the unity of the Church ; they were evil livers and the cause of evil life ; finally, they were the limbs of Satan.

The monks were less open, it would seem, to Wyclif's censure. He denounced monasticism as a system, but he spared the monks. When he said that life in the world was preferable to life in the cloister, he was saying what many in the fourteenth century had begun to feel; but it needed another century before any very severe attack could be made on the private lives of the monks.

It is plain that Wyclif had parted company with the teaching of the mediæval Church. The unscrupulous politicians who were eager to make use of him saw that his religious opinions would tell against them, and John of Gaunt adjured him to keep silence on critical doctrines. But Wyclif was the last man in the world to refrain from proselytising. He set himself to spread his opinions with all his might. Though he condemned the existing 'sects' of the friars, he founded another : he sent out a number of 'poor preachers,' who passed from village to village teaching from the Bible of which he had given the English version, and denouncing in unmeasured terms the evils in the Church.

His poor priests.

It is plain that an open trial of the questions thus raised by one of the most learned and popular theologians of the day could not long have been postponed, when a great rebellion broke across the current of events, and diverted men's attention from Wyclif's religious opinions to the results of his political theories. In 1381 broke out in many parts of England a dangerous insurrection of the villein tenants, from whom the lords, in the dearth of labourers caused by the great pestilence, were demanding the old labour services. It was a social revolt such as England had never known : it was almost universal : it was well organised, and for some time it carried all before it. London was seized by the rebels, and the archbishop, Simon Sudbury, was barbarously murdered.

Revolt of 1381.

Wyclif's poor priests were thought to be largely responsible for the revolt. It is certain that his teaching as to property would have justified the rising; and some priests, influenced by his works, were among the leaders of the revolt. John Ball, whom Froissart,

the courtly chronicler of the time, calls 'a mad priest of Kent,' taught that 'things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common'; and then from mouth to mouth there ran the popular rhyme :

'When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?'

So wrote John Langland, the bitter poet of *Piers Ploughman*, when he said to the knight that his serf might some day be his equal, if not in this world, yet certainly in the next : 'Though he be thine underling here, well, mayhap in heaven that he be worthier set and with more bliss than thou.'

The rich soon recovered from their panic, the men of Kent were surrounded, and everywhere the insurrection was suppressed. When it was over, Wyclif's influence in high places was practically gone. Archbishop Courtenay, the successor of Simon Sudbury, summoned a council on May 17, 1382, which, after an adjournment due to an earthquake, condemned his doctrine on the Holy Communion, but did not mention him by name. He still continued to address to Parliament letters on Church reforms. But for the rest of his life he lived almost unnoticed at his rectory of Lutterworth. In the next two years he wrote tract after tract against the French Pope, Clement VII. and the crusade preached on his behalf. He was under summons to appear before Urban VII. when he died on December 28, 1384.

Its results.

Wyclif's work was for the time and in England ineffectual. His writings were rigidly suppressed, and persecution extinguished his English followers. But the connection between England and Bohemia through the marriage of Richard II. led to the reformer's views being widely spread abroad, and they exercised a great influence on the teaching of Huss some years later, and through that, in later times again, on England.

Wyclif's death was followed by the gradual extinction of his party. In July 1382 the king had issued letters patent against the Lollards (the nickname given to them, and probably meaning 'canting babblers') : in the very month of Wyclif's death these letters were extended to the whole land, requiring the arrest of all persons who should teach contrary to the Catholic faith. The university of Oxford, which

Persecution of the Lollards.

had shown signs of independence, was forced, after sharp controversy, to submit. In 1388 Parliament petitioned the king to remedy the evils of the Church, and he ordered search for heretics in every county. Archbishop Courtenay was vigorous in requiring submission from all whom he could discover. The renewal of the acts of Provisors and Praemunire showed that the State was active to maintain its rights against the power of the Pope. It was clearly from no foreign influence that it decided to put down the Lollards.

In 1394 the Lollards petitioned Parliament, sending conclusions directed against the 'pretended miracle of the sacrament of bread,' against endowments, clerical celibacy, the holding of lay offices by clerics, pilgrimages, confession, war, and 'unnecessary arts,' pleading that 'goldsmiths, and armourers, and all kinds of arts not necessary for man, should be destroyed for the increase of virtue.' Richard II. sharply threatened the chief supporters of the party, but in the political troubles of his last years Lollardry seems to have sunk into the background. Archbishop Arundel, who became prominent among the opponents of the king, was sent into exile, the Pope transferring him to S. Andrews and 'providing' Roger Walden, the king's treasurer, in his place.

In 1399 the revolution which set Henry of Bolingbroke on the throne brought back Archbishop Arundel, the archbishop appointed by the Pope being ignored. The new king was eager to ally with the Church; his party considered the Lollards, whom Richard II. was believed secretly to have supported, to be a grave political danger, and Parliament, at the request of the Convocation of Canterbury, readily legislated against them.

By an Act passed in 1401 all preaching without lawful licence was prohibited, all heretical writings were ordered to be given up to the bishops, all persons suspected of owning such were to be proceeded against by law, all persons convicted were to be imprisoned, or, on refusing to abjure or relapsing into heresy, to be 'burnt before the people in a high place by the sheriffs and mayors.' This Act of Parliament, caused by the terror with which the higher classes regarded the revolutionary teaching of the Lollards, put into force in England for the first time the foreign rule of law which required the burning of heretics.

The Statute de Haeretico Comburendo.

It was as disastrous in its results as it was savage in its provisions. The precedent of linking together ecclesiastical errors with civil dangers, and punishing, through the Church's judgment, those who were believed to be the enemies of the State, was eagerly followed by the statesmen of later ages, and the effects of the statute continued to influence the history of England for evil long after its provisions had been repealed.

Even before the Act was passed, a London rector named William Sawtre was burnt, by royal writ, on a charge of heresy as to the sacrament of the altar. This terrible punishment seems to have induced all who were arrested during the next few years to recant. Archbishop Arundel continued to put forth orders forbidding the reading of Wyclif's works and disputation on points of the Catholic faith. And he reaffirmed in the grossest form the doctrine of transubstantiation repudiated by the Lollards. In 1413 he asserted that the material bread was changed into Christ's body, as if the 'accidents' of the bread (*i.e.* that which we can see and touch) had entirely disappeared. This view was entirely contrary to that of the early Church, and overthrows the nature of a sacrament by denying all reality to the outward forms of bread and wine. That the clergy were by no means popular was still clear, from the petitions presented by the Commons in 1404 for the confiscation of Church revenues by the crown, and again in 1410 for the total disendowment of the Church.

Arundel's doctrines.

If such revolutionary measures were little likely to be carried, they probably served to win support by the very fact that they were brought forward, for the national movement which in 1414 procured from Parliament the dissolution and confiscation of the property of all alien priories, *i.e.* those which, having superior houses abroad, were foreign rather than English in their obedience, and sent their surplus revenues over sea. Thus national feeling was able to procure a measure of reform which Wyclif's teaching could not obtain. It was a precedent which would be quoted later, when the monasteries themselves were in danger. But the Act seems at the time to have passed almost unnoticed, for the attention of Church as well as State was directed to the suppression of Wyclif's doctrines, which were considered subversive of the whole existing order.

The authorities were eager to meet the danger by repression. In 1410 John Badby of Evesham suffered at Smithfield under the statute *de haeretico comburendo.* For some time a prominent nobleman, Sir John Oldcastle, by marriage Lord Cobham, was known to be a Wyclifite, but his employment in the royal household prevented his being touched. He was suspected of treasonable designs when placards were found on the doors of the London churches declaring that there were a hundred thousand Lollards ready to take arms. The Convocation of Canterbury in 1413 demanded that measures should be taken against Oldcastle as a supporter of heretical preachers. King Henry v., himself a most loyal son of the Church, spoke with him on his opinions, and reported to Archbishop Arundel that he could not convince him. He was accordingly cited to appear before the Convocation. He stated his opinions in writing, and the archbishop (in a statement already quoted) declared them inadequate. Oldcastle said that 'the most worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin, our Lady Saint Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.' To this Arundel opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation in a form unknown to the ancient doctors of the Church. On other points, such as penance, images, and pilgrimages, Oldcastle was also considered to be unsound. But he went further when he declared in public before the archbishop that 'the Pope was the head of Antichrist, and archbishops and bishops his tail.' On this, sentence was pronounced against him, and he was handed over to the State. He was imprisoned in the Tower, given forty days' respite, and meanwhile escaped.

Sir John Oldcastle.

The discovery of a plot among the Lollards in London early in 1414, and their capture by the king, led to renewed measures of inquiry and punishment. Archbishop Chichele, Arundel's successor, was no less firm in repression, and a number of executions followed in the next few years, chiefly of persons whose opinions were even more eccentric than heretical. Oldcastle was captured in 1417, and condemned by Parliament as a traitor for intrigues with the Scots, and for denying the right of Henry v. His

memory, however, was long preserved among the people, and a hundred and fifty years after his execution Shakespeare, who was thought to have mocked at his character, could write of him that he 'died a martyr.'

The later history of Lollardry can be briefly summarised. Its survival is shown by the writings of Thomas Walden and Reginald Pecock, but it hardly survived the trial of the latter in 1457.

The later Lollards.

What had been aggressive logic with Wyclif and Ball sank down into ignorant coarseness among the few survivors of their following. William Barlow, condemned in 1466, said that 'no priest had no more power to hear confessions than Jack Hare'; and John Goos in 1474 passed to death in a spirit of vulgar bravado, saying, 'I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower before I go to supper.' Both these men were probably insane before the age of asylums, rather than Protestants before the time of Luther. Wyclifite literature had practically been extinguished in England before the end of the Wars of the Roses. In Bohemia it had spread through the books sent over with the connivance, if not the support, of Anne, wife of Richard II., and by the work of a discreditable Oxford scholar named Peter Payne.

The history of Lollardism is a painful illustration of the weakness, arrogance, and ignorance of the Church authorities. Unable to meet their opponents in logic, or to win them by charity, they

Weakness of the Church.

were ready to accept the help of the State to destroy where they could not convince. In some cases the Lollard teaching was contrary to the universal doctrine of Christendom; in some it was more primitive than what was then received as orthodox; in some it was wild, unintelligible, and subversive of all social order. But the weaknesses of the Church that it laid bare—the worldly lives and dignities of the higher clergy, the ignorance of monks and friars, the corruption of the whole papal system—when once perceived, were certain eventually to be reformed. The history of the century after Wyclif's death was but a series of steps towards the Reformation.

During the rest of the fifteenth century there was peace between Church and State; but a time of peace was a time of growing abuses. The popes strengthened their power in England by

making the archbishops their legates. Martin v. ordered Archbishop Chichele to procure the repeal of the antipapal statutes, and when nothing came of it he conferred the legation on Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. Against this as illegal a formal protest was made on behalf of the crown, and the bishop was not allowed to exercise any legatine functions. Papal provisions, nevertheless, revived. Martin v. 'provided' for many English sees, and the most scandalous appointments were made under his authority, which the writers of the time denounced with unsparing vehemence. At the universities, from time to time, protests were raised against new papal appointments or new papal exactions. When Eugenius iv. bestowed the bishopric of Ely upon the Archbishop of Tours, to be held with his archbishopric, though Chichele protested, he was actually allowed to enjoy the revenues of the see, though he did not become bishop. Within the land abuses were equally rife. In 1455 Archbishop Bourchier issued a commission for inquiry and reform in regard to the monastic and parochial clergy which points to a grievous neglect of duty. The bishops were largely employed in politics. Cardinal Kempe, Archbishop of Canterbury (1452-1486), was also Chancellor. He had been in succession Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, and Archbishop of York before he was translated to Canterbury. In these earlier preferments he hardly ever resided in his dioceses, and his neglect of his duties was notorious. Bishop Nevile of Exeter, brother of the king-maker, and afterwards Archbishop of York, was another scandalous instance of appointment for secular reasons. Rome, the moralists of the day declared, was to blame for all this. If sometimes bad kings encouraged the popes in this unworthy use of sacred offices, good kings protested. Henry vi. boldly criticised the Pope's gift of an important abbey to a boy of sixteen who had no intention of being ordained or even taking monastic vows: 'we will not offend the Divine Majesty,' he wrote, 'by giving either aid or assent to such an appointment,' words worthy of the simple English king whom men came to regard after his death as a saint of God.

Growth of papal power.

When bishops went beyond their secular duties and interfered with religious matters they ran considerable risk of condemnation

by the Church. The history of Reginald Pecock, who became Bishop of S. Asaph in 1444, is a curious instance of this danger. He first defended the bishops for non-residence and neglect of preaching. In 1449 he published a book to prevent 'too much blaming the clergy,' directed against the teaching of the Lollards. So stoutly did he support the claims of reason to be supreme in all matters of spiritual concern that he incurred the enmity of the Church as well as of the heretics. Translated to Chichester in 1450, and regarded at first as a stout champion of orthodoxy, he was in 1457 accused of heresy, condemned to recant a number of very strange opinions, which it is doubtful if he ever held, and finally he was made to resign his see and end his life under restraint in a monastery. He had admitted too much, and the bishops and friars alike could not endure the criticism even of a friend. How well this criticism was deserved may be seen from the writings, few of which probably saw the light in his lifetime, of Thomas Gascoigne, an Oxford scholar contemporary with Pecock. He commented severely on the abuse of indulgences, the evils of non-residence, neglect of duty, the worldliness of the clergy, and the robbery of the parishes by the monasteries. The monks, he said, lived like great barons, neglecting every spiritual duty, and hasting only to grow rich. 'Oh, how much good would a pope do,' he cried, 'who could send a legate not thirsting for gifts but for the salvation of men.'

Bishop Reginald Pecock.

Thus in England the fifteenth century drew to a close, darkened by the bloodshed of civil war. The evils of the Church called loudly for reform. Students wrote against the papal power. Plain men denounced the evils of the non-residence of statesmen-bishops, the poverty of the parishes, the idleness of friars, the luxury of monks, and the absence of resident priests through the grant of benefices to monasteries. It is clear that there was a very strong feeling of discontent, practical rather than doctrinal, rising against the government of the Church. During the Wars of the Roses the feeling was in the background. It came to the front when a solid government was established under Henry VIII.

In Scotland the close of the Middle Ages showed plainly that a great change was inevitable. The Church had lost its hold on the people. The wealth of the Church had been enormously

increased, without any deepening of her spiritual life. The popes had established their power over the Church, and they exercised it too often as a means of extracting money. In 1385 Bishop Walter Wardlaw of Glasgow was made a cardinal, the first Scotsman to receive that dignity. During the reign of James I. (1424-1437) the university of S. Andrews was founded by the bishop of that see, Henry Wardlaw, and during that of James II. (1437-1460) Glasgow also received a university. Under James III. (1460-1488) S. Andrews was made an archbishopric in 1472, but the first archbishop was deposed as a heretic and schismatic. Glasgow, its rival, was also made an archbishopric in 1492, but by that time the Church was near a fatal catastrophe. This belongs rather to the history of the Reformation.

Scotland.

In Wales the need of change was equally evident. The monasteries, often English, had engrossed the revenues of the parish churches even more than in England; and they were much more numerous in proportion than in England. The bishoprics, from the time of Chichele, Bishop of S. David's (1407-1414), to the Reformation, were held chiefly by servants of the crown. S. David's, it is clear, was regarded in the thirteenth century as one of the greatest ecclesiastical preferments in the realm. In the fifteenth century it had much declined in position and wealth. Among the bishops who held the see from 1415 to 1523 was William Lyndwood, the canonist; but Wales was, save for political disturbance, neglected and forgotten by the English.

Wales.

At this point, as we approach the end of the Middle Ages, it may be well to say something in detail of the position and social life of the clergy during the last centuries we have traversed.

Religion from the Norman Conquest to the Wars of the Roses entered into the whole order of life, public and private. Next to the king in the realm stood the Archbishop of Canterbury, recognised by popes themselves as 'pope of another world,' and still retaining, in spite of the encroachments of the mediæval papacy, something of the patriarchal dignity which had belonged to S. Augustine as the founder of the English Church. The archbishops were generally

The Archbishops of Canterbury in the Middle Ages.

men of distinguished abilities, already standing forth among their contemporaries before their election as leaders of men, by learning, by piety, or by abilities for practical government. Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, Langton, Winchelsea, were all men who would have been famous in any rank of life ; and they were men who devoted their best powers to the rule of the English Church according to the law of God as they saw it. Theobald and Edmund Rich represented another ideal, the quiet work of religion as apart from secular life. Hubert Walter and Arundel belonged rather to another order of men, those who were statesmen or politicians as much as or more than they were rulers of God's heritage : they looked rather to serve the Church through the State than the State through the Church. But, with exceptions that are conspicuous from their rarity, such as the wretched Walter Reynolds, who turned against the unhappy king to whom he owed his rise, the Archbishops of Canterbury were men whose heart was in the things of God, and who were strong to uphold what they believed to be the right. And they did a great service to English liberty. It was Stephen Langton who, when the barons turned hither and thither, not knowing how to bring the evil King John to do right, produced the charter of Henry I., and appealed to it as the record of the just claims of State as well as Church. Great in their services to the nation, the Archbishops of Canterbury lived outwardly in an ostentation and dignity unknown to modern times. They kept open house ; every day great lords, princes, often the king, came to their tables, and crowds of beggars and poor folk were fed at their gates or in their halls. When they moved it was in state, in their barges on the Thames or with their retinue of knights from one manor to another on their great estates. Their households were, to modern eyes, immense. The children of the great lords were often brought up in their palaces, in preference to the monastery schools, to be taught in the practices of piety as well as in the duties and exercises of a Christian knight. When the kings held great continental possessions, and their ministers followed them as they went from Normandy to Aquitaine, from Maine to the northern borderland, the archbishops must have been the greatest potentates who were always before the eyes of the English people. There is no wonder that

if they were great for good, they were sometimes thought also to be great for evil, and that Simon Sudbury met his death at the hands of a mob too ignorant to know what were the trials and difficulties of an archbishop's life. Undoubtedly as time went on the powers for evil tended to grow side by side with, or even at the expense of, the powers for good. The gradual encroachment by which the popes claimed always to have a legate to represent them in England, and the custom, from the time of Stephen Langton onwards (with the exception of the attempt to make Cardinal Beaufort legate) of conferring this dignity on the Archbishop of Canterbury, of necessity implicated the English primate in the abuses of the papal government. Everywhere, and in everything, writers of all nations declared the papal government to be corrupt; and the archbishops were compelled, directly or indirectly, to sanction its demands for money, in taxation for papal needs, in fees for indulgences or for dispensations from the obligations of Church laws, and in the countless ways in which the skilled agents of the Papacy obtained gold for the greedy Roman court.

Thus while in his national character the Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, might and often did defend the liberties of the Church and people against foreign aggression, in his capacity as chief representative of the Pope he tended to become the mere mouthpiece of an alien and constantly encroaching power.

The position of the Church courts in the Middle Ages tended to increase this subjection to Rome. From the earliest times the Church in England had had her courts, and the bishops had judged all questions of doctrine and discipline. William I.'s edict separating the courts had emphasised the fact that the Church courts did not owe obedience to the State, but were, in the source of their authority, wholly independent of it. Their code was composed of 'the holy precepts of the canons' and 'the episcopal laws'; their officers and their punishments were spiritual, not temporal. This distinction was very clearly recognised by Henry II. at the time when he was determined to secure the punishment by the State of a clergyman who had committed civil offences. Appeals from court to court already existed in the ordered system of the Church's courts, though they were as yet unknown in those of the State. He

Church jurisdiction.

accepted the system. Appeals, he said, should go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. Then if the archbishop failed to do justice, the king himself should command the rehearing of the case, 'that by his command the dispute be concluded in the archbishop's court, so that it must not go further without the assent of the lord the king.' Thus Henry tried to preserve both the independence of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by giving to the archbishop the final judgment, and its national character, by preventing all appeals outside the country without the consent of the crown. But, as the chroniclers of the time sardonically observed, he who thus forbade appeals to Rome was soon eager to employ them; and it was the series of appeals and counter-appeals to the Pope under Henry II. which more than anything else made the papal curia assume a half-recognised position as a final court in Church causes. The law of inferior courts must always be that which is administered by the supreme court of appeal. Thus it came to pass that in not a few instances the court of Rome, and the canon law there developed and put in force, came to be accepted in England as overriding the national Church law, the national Church courts, and the national primate. Throughout the later Middle Ages the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury was becoming more and more difficult; it needed a revolution to untie the knots by which he was bound.

The Archbishop of York.

The Archbishop of York had a very different position from his brother of Canterbury. He might contend, as he did, for points of dignity, for the right to have his cross borne aloft before him even in the southern province; but save where he was very closely connected with the king, his importance belonged wholly to the north. The county of Nottingham, when it was placed within his jurisdiction, gave him a footing across the Humber; but it was a precarious one, and the beautiful palace at Southwell was rather a hunting lodge than a primatial court. It was difficult for the Archbishop of York before the Reformation to compare in political importance with the primate of all England. Under Richard I., Geoffrey, though a king's son, was long in getting justice from the king's men. Henry IV. did not fear, in spite of papal protests and the pious horror of ignorant ecclesiastics, to behead Richard Scrope,

primate of England, who had joined in the plot of the Earl of Northumberland, to place the Earl of March upon the throne. And close at hand the Archbishop of York had a rival who entirely eclipsed him in the field of politics. William the Conqueror had given to the see of Durham a position like that of the foreign prince-bishops. The bishop was earl of the northern lands placed under his spiritual jurisdiction. The law courts were his, the sheriffs, the armed men, the tax-collectors. Ranulf Flambard in the days of Rufus, Hugh de Puiset in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., were great princes who ruled the north and reduced their primates almost to insignificance. In the Wars of the Roses, Archbishop Nevile held his own because of the power of his kindred in his province. The castle of Raby protected the manor of Bishopthorpe.

The Bishopric of Durham.

The bishops, as we have seen, were throughout the Middle Ages often appointed by the kings for political reasons. Many of them served the Church well, even if they served the State better. They compare, at least, favourably with the 'Greek play bishops' of a later day. Many of them were saints who went about doing good, bringing into the most remote corners of their dioceses the gifts of grace which are bestowed by the hands of the successors of the Apostles. The ordinances of Grosseteste's household show how the rule of holy living was set before the people by the homes of the best of the English bishops. Obedience was strictly enforced. It was to be seen that no man of bad character was employed among the servants, but that all should be 'honest, diligent, chaste, profitable.' All should feed in the common hall, with the bishop himself. Great care should be taken in the reception of strangers and the distribution of alms. All should behave courteously and seemly, under rule.

The bishops.

The state and dignity of the bishops must often have been inferior to that of the richer abbats. The monasteries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enjoyed by far the larger proportion of the property of the Church in England. There were over two hundred and fifty Benedictine houses, some twenty Clugniac, some nine Carthusian, and nearly a hundred Cistercian (offshoots of the Benedictines). Next to these come the canons of the Augustinian order, both regular

The monasteries and other orders.

(monastic) and secular (cathedral), whose houses numbered over two hundred. Their branches, the Premonstratensians (founded by S. Norbert in 1134), had thirty-six houses, and the Gilbertines (founded by Gilbert of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, in 1139) had twenty-six, while the Brigittines (founded by S. Bridget of Sweden, 1363), brought in by Henry v., had the splendid convent, renowned for its manuscripts, of Syon House. Besides these there were the military orders, and the friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Austins, having fifty-eight, sixty-five, fifty-five, and forty-five houses. The mere mention of these figures shows how large was the amount of property possessed by ecclesiastical corporations in England, and, in consequence, how great was the influence which they exercised on the social life of the country. The monasteries indeed were far from being merely religious houses. The church, it is true, was always their principal building, and all our cathedrals were originally abbey churches, some Benedictine, some Augustinian, but the refectory, the chapter-house, the dormitory, the cloisters, were buildings as important, and the huge barns and the guest-house were signs of much contact with the outside world. The magnificence of the abbey churches is still reflected in many of our cathedral and parish churches, though the taste of a simpler generation has shorn them of much of their adornment, secular as well as ecclesiastical, since the time when Piers Plowman was made to say :

> 'For though a man in their minster a mass wolde heren
> His sight shall so be set on sundrye werkes
> The penons and pornels and poyntes of sheldes
> Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his heart.'

While the monasteries were thus the centres of life in their districts, the parish clergy, and the parish churches, at least in the villages, suffered much from their encroachments. Wyclif and Gascoigne agree in condemning the way in which monasteries engrossed the patronage of parishes, deprived them of resident rectors, and discharged the ecclesiastical duties only by sending priests from time to time to say mass, or more rarely to preach, even compelling the parents to bring their children to the monasteries to be baptized, by removing the fonts or turning them to

secular uses (as may be seen in many a country garden to-day). Not only did the parish priests suffer from the encroachments of the monasteries; they were beset also by the friars: from the time of Grosseteste to the Reformation there were constant complaints of this interference with the proper duties of the incumbent. Wyclif poured scorn and condemnation on the parish clergy, but it is unlikely, from other evidence, that they wholly deserved his scorn. Scandals there were, no doubt, and there are traces of the growth of a particular evil. In 1392 Archbishop Courtenay sent a mandate to all the bishops against the idleness and extravagance of the clergy, many of whom abandoned their cures and lived 'impudently' in London, and ordered that the said sons of iniquity, blasphemers of their calling and their Church, followers of Simon Magus, who sought to win holy gifts for gold, 'commonly called *choppe churches*,' should be struck with the sword of ecclesiastical censure, 'especially those in holy orders, whose iniquities the clergy condemn, the people abominate, and the generality of both sexes detest.' But this exceptional mandate must not blind us to the other side of the picture. Chaucer's portrait, drawn by one who was not blind to the faults of the clergy, is probably far truer; and it is one which should find place in every history of the English Church.

The parish priests.

Chaucer's portrait of a parish priest, c. 1386.

'A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a POURE PERSOUN OF A TOUN;
But riche he was of hooly thoght and werk;
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Cristes Gospel trewely wolde preche:
His parisshens devoutly wolde he teche.
Benygne he was, and wonder diligent,
And in adversitee ful pacient;
And swich[1] he was y-preved[2] ofte sithes.[3]
Ful looth were hym to cursen for his tithes,
But rather wolde he yeven,[4] out of doute,
Unto his poure parisshens aboute,
Of his offrýng and eek of his substaunce:
He koude in litel thyng have suffisaunce.
Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer asonder,
But he ne lafte nat for reyn ne thonder,

[1] Such. [2] Proved. [3] Many times. [4] Give.

In siknesse nor in meschief to visite
The ferreste[1] in his parisshe, muche and lite,[2]
Upon his feet, and in his hand a staf.
This noble ensample to his sheepe he yaf[3]
That firste he wroghte and afterward he taughte.
Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte,
And this figure he added eek therto,
That if gold ruste what shal iren doo?
For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
No wonder is a lewed[4] man to ruste;

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Wel oghte a preest ensample for to yive
By his clennesse how that his sheepe sholde lyve.
He sette nat his benefice to hyre
And leet his sheepe encombred in the myre,
And ran to Londoun, unto Seïnt Poules,
To seken hym a chaunterie for soules;
Or with a bretherhed to been withholde,
But dwelte at hoom and kepte wel his folde,
So that the wolf ne made it nat myscarie,—
He was a shepherde, and noght a mercenarie:
And though he hooly were and vertuous,
He was to synful man not despitous,[5]
Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne,[6]
But in his techyng déscreet and benygne,
To drawen folk to hevene by fairnesse,
By good ensample, this was his bisynesse:
But it were any persone obstinat,
What so he were, of heigh or lough estat,
Him wolde he snybben sharply for the nonys.[7]
A bettre preest I trowe that nowher noon[8] ys;
He waited after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spiced conscience,
But Cristes loore, and his Apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he folwed it hym selve.'

English architecture.

Such, it may be hoped, were often the parish clergy of the Middle Ages. We may now briefly inquire of what style were the buildings in which they ministered. Of the early buildings of the English there are but few traces left

[1] Farthest. [2] Great and small. [3] Gave. [4] Ignorant, lay.
[5] Pitiless. [6] Haughty. [7] Nonce. [8] None.

to us, and those mostly in churches which have been partly if not entirely rebuilt. At Deerhurst a Norman upper storey was added, at Monkwearmouth a tower; but more generally the reconstruction was complete. The old Romanesque was replaced by the more highly finished form which is known as Norman. This from the first made the churches higher by the addition of a triforium and clerestory. The round arches were little decorated, the towers were low, but the solid nature of the columns, the dignity of the whole plan, make an unmistakable effect of power and strength, as may be seen at Durham, at S. David's, or in the nave of the cathedral church of Gloucester. The age of church-building which belongs to the reign of Stephen has left us many examples among our parish churches. At the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century pointed arches began to appear, as may be seen in the abbey of Malmesbury, joined to the simplest Norman work. They appear also in the hospital of S. Cross at Winchester, built by Henry of Blois, King Stephen's brother. From this time the decoration became detailed and much richer. Thus gradually (as may be seen at Canterbury and at Chichester) was formed the Early English style, which is seen in its best perfection, with extreme grace and delicacy, with narrow lancet-shaped windows and clusters of shafts forming the pillars, in the choir of Lincoln, of the time of S. Hugh the Bishop. Early English is full and complete in the cathedral church of Salisbury, 1220-1258. By Henry III., too, Westminster Abbey was made to assume, as regards the main building and the chapter-house, much of its present appearance. Sculpture was now coming to the aid of pure architecture, as may be seen in the west front of Wells cathedral church (*c.* 1239), which, though a sham in relation to the building itself, is noteworthy for its 'sermons in stones.'

Saxon.

Norman.

Early English.

At the end of the thirteenth century the 'Pointed Gothic' or Early English was developed into the style which is called Decorated. In this the windows are much larger, and both the scheme and details of the tracery are more unrestrained and flowing. Much of this work is to be seen at York and Lichfield, and perhaps its finest specimen is in the octagon at Ely, built at the end of Edward II.'s reign. Fifty

Decorated.

years later this style also had begun to change. During the last half of the fourteenth century, as may be seen in the choir of Gloucester Cathedral, the chief feature of architectural work began to be its Perpendicular character. The Perpendicular period, which was in full glory throughout the whole of the fifteenth century, was notable chiefly for breadth, dignity, adaptability to decoration. The decoration is chiefly in panels completed by smaller or larger half-columns ; the windows are large and obviously intended to give as much light as possible while showing the beauty of coloured glass. The most beautiful form of decoration is the exquisite fan tracery so common on the roofs of the porches of large churches. It continued long beyond the fifteenth century, and is seen not only in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, but at S. George's, Windsor, in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and in Wolsey's work at Christ Church, Oxford, and even so late as 1666 in the roof of a small chapel at S. John's College, Oxford. The size, the grandeur, the extraordinary richness of work in stone and wood, have caused it to be said that the style 'went out in a blaze of glory.' The splendid parish churches of the Cotswolds and the eastern counties remain almost untouched memorials of this time, as do the great towers of Somerset, of Magdalen College, Oxford, and of the church of S. Probus, Cornwall.

Perpendicular.

We have brought the history of the Church to the time when new forces, intellectual, spiritual, material, were beginning to appear, forces which it was certain would act powerfully upon her life. To outside view, at the end of the Wars of the Roses, the Church was strong. Her bishops were still the chief statesmen. The laity, if they criticised, still endowed. Churches of magnificence were rising on every side ; hospitals and colleges were being built to carry on the work of religion among the sick and the young. But the new generation did not look at the Church in the old light. It had been trained in criticism, by poets, preachers, scholars : it did not love the friars or the monks, and least of all did it love the court of Rome. It was growing conscious of an intensely national spirit. What that should bring was the most important revolution in all the history of the Church of England.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION

The English Reformation was the result of many causes, and if it was not long foreseen, it was long prepared for. For a long time kings and parliaments had resented the claim of the popes to interfere in English affairs and to control the English Church. It was a common saying that everything could be bought at Rome, and the heavy expenses of all ecclesiastical appointments and appeals were felt by many in England, from the kings to the poor clergy. The long civil wars had everywhere caused disturbance, suffering, and discontent, and a general feeling of insecurity. No man's life, it appeared, was safe while the Wars of the Roses spread over the land, and in the country districts the powers of the Church had sunk very low, and men seemed (as we may see from the Paston letters, a wonderful collection of family correspondence during the fifteenth century), to do what was right in their own eyes, without control of law or religion. The number of persons in holy orders was very great. In the diocese of Ely, for instance, during the year 1421, there were ordained 15 acolytes, 34 subdeacons, 31 deacons, and 25 priests, but ordination lists often contain over 100 persons admitted to the different orders on one occasion. But numbers were not a source of strength. The higher clergy obtained their appointments almost always through their powerful kinsmen or their services to the State, and they were too much concerned in politics to be respected by the people. In 1450 two bishops were murdered for political reasons, and there was no great stir made about it. The lesser clergy were not conspicuous for their good lives. The monasteries, though generally well conducted, were sometimes

End of the Middle Ages.

stained by grievous vice, and often in a condition of financial insecurity. The friars had long, as a body, lost popular confidence. They had suffered because of the very popularity of their profession. Multitudes of idle men had crowded into the mendicant orders, with no spiritual or intellectual qualification. Still worse was the large class of chantry priests, clergy endowed, without any parochial duties, to say masses for the dead, too often idle men with slight duties and very small sense of moral obligation to a holy life. The Church was politically, morally, and spiritually weak.

When Henry VII. came to the throne it was clear that some changes were necessary. Morton, his chief minister, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1486, was, says Lord Bacon, 'a wise man and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty.' He was far from blind to the evils of the day, but his interests were chiefly those of a lawyer and a great builder. None the less did he take in hand some urgent measures of reform. His register, from minor matters of clerical dandyism, the abandoning of the tonsure and the wearing of swords and jewels, up to the neglect of parish duties and residence, contains ample evidence of the Church's needs and the archbishop's activity. The saddest instance of depravity with which he had to deal was that of the great abbey of S. Alban's. In a stern letter to the abbat, Morton, with righteous indignation, spoke of the sin and scandal permitted in the houses subject to his rule, and ordered an immediate and thorough reformation. A statute passed in the first year of Henry VII. gave power to all bishops to imprison all clergy guilty of immorality. Already the imminence of change was apparent. In the whole fifteenth century only one new monastery was founded in England, and the number of the 'religious' was diminished by at least one-third. The popes fully recognised the evils of the age, and saw at least one direction in which the needed reform must proceed. Innocent VIII., in 1489, stated that he had heard that the inmates of many monasteries in England led evil lives, and authorised proceedings against them. Morton dissolved some of the religious houses on account of grave scandals.

Henry VII., 1485-1509.

Cardinal Morton.

Henry VII. was liberal in his attitude towards ecclesiastical questions. He himself appropriated ecclesiastical revenues to his

new hospitals and friaries, and permitted, if he did not encourage, similar acts on the part of his mother, and of several bishops at Oxford and Cambridge, by which monastic endowments were seized and colleges were founded. William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, had already endowed his magnificent foundation of Magdalen College at Oxford partly through the confiscation of the property of a religious hospital, and at Cambridge, Bishop Alcock, in founding Jesus College, had followed a similar course.

Founding of colleges.

While Henry VII. and Morton thus represented the ideas of the future, the very position the archbishop occupied was a proof of the continuance of old abuses. 'The clergy,' wrote a Venetian observer of English life in this reign, 'are they who have supreme sway over the country both in peace and war.' Morton was, like too many of his predecessors, chancellor as well as primate. The higher clergy were still immersed in politics, and this was often a danger to the State as well as to the true interests of the Church. In 1494 and 1495 many ecclesiastics were shown to have been among the favourers of the plot to dethrone the king on behalf of the impostor Perkin Warbeck; and the growth of a strong feeling against statesmen-priests is conspicuous throughout the reign. The worldly character of the popes during the period, their evil lives, their wars of aggression, and their utter absence of spiritual power, tended in the same direction.

The clergy in politics.

In 1504 Morton died, and was succeeded as archbishop by William Warham. He was a learned man, in full sympathy with the intellectual movement of the age, which was to be the most potent agent of reformation for the English Church. During the reign of Henry VII. and the early years of Henry VIII., England participated to the full in the revival of learning, which, spreading from Constantinople to Italy, was transforming Europe. The change was more noticeable in the universities, but it was scarcely less to be observed in the palaces of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the end of the fifteenth century colleges were being founded in Oxford and Cambridge, which should represent the principles of the new learning, At Cambridge, the royal foundation of King's, the work of Henry VI., received some additions

The revival of learning.

to its chapel, and two new colleges were begun ; in 1497, Jesus, which was to teach Cranmer, on the site of a Benedictine nunnery ; and Christ's, endowed in 1506 by Henry VII.'s pious mother, which was to train Latimer. Thus the two most famous leaders of the reformation in the English Church were brought up at Cambridge. Jesus was the work of John Alcock, described by a contemporary Italian scholar as 'a father of shining righteousness and virtue' : Margaret, Countess of Richmond, both in her founding of Christ's and of S. John's Colleges, was advised by the saintly John Fisher, 'a man of the highest learning, grace, and uprightness.' In London,

Colet.

John Colet, Dean of S. Paul's, by his direct teaching brought the principles of the Reformers and of the Renaissance, or revival of learning, home to a wider circle than the universities could touch. He lectured on S. Paul's epistles, filling them with meaning new to those who were trained in the old scholastic methods. In 1493, after studying at Oxford, he had gone to Italy : in 1496 he returned to London and began his famous lectures.

But it was at Oxford that the new teaching was making the greatest progress. Five Oxford scholars had studied but recently at Ferrara, and some had entered the sphere of influence of the

Erasmus.

Florentine Academy, the centre of the learning of the Renaissance. Chief among these were William Grocyn, who first taught Greek at Oxford, and Thomas Linacre, who taught the same tongue to Erasmus. In 1498 the great Dutch scholar came to Oxford. The influence which he exercised on the rising generation of English churchmen was none the less profound because it cannot always be easily traced. At a time when Luther, Melanchthon, and even Calvin, appealed to the more enthusiastic spirits to cast off the bonds of the ancient Church of Christ and throw themselves upon the modern interpretation of the Holy Scriptures as a sufficient guide to a religious life, it was the thoughts matured by the sceptical yet conservative mind of Erasmus, which kept the English leaders firm in adherence to the doctrine and discipline of the undivided Church. Erasmus was the keenest critic that Church abuses have ever had. His sharp eyes saw every defect and every superstitious excess, and his sharp tongue told what he saw, in words that could not be

forgotten. He laughed at the monks for their ignorance and greediness; he derided the friars, he exposed the impostures of winking images and sham relics of the saints; and all along he spoke as one whom popes commended, and he appealed with unequalled learning to the judgment of the Fathers, and the sentences of the undivided Church. Thus when the fiery eloquence of Luther, the suave arguments of Melanchthon, or the impressive logic of Calvin would have lured the English reformers to desert the unity of the Catholic faith handed down through the Apostles from the Lord Jesus, it was the witness of Erasmus to the possibility of a revival of the primitive Catholicism, apart from the theological and moral errors of the Middle Ages and the greedy iniquity of the Roman court, which confirmed the leaders of English thought in the old paths of true religion and sound learning. Not only by his writings, by his witty exposure of the follies of his day, and by his serious elucidation of the New Testament, but by his personal influence on the leaders of English thought, Erasmus did a great work for England. It was in Oxford that he found those who should disseminate his teaching. He made acquaintance with Thomas More, a bright young lawyer, keenly interested in theology, and of a holy life, whom Colet already loved as a dear friend. The great minister of the next generation, Thomas Wolsey, was also trained at Oxford; William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, established the college of Brasenose; Richard Fox, also a statesman and Bishop of Winchester, was a benefactor to the university as the founder of Corpus Christi College, and as the reviser of statutes in the interest of the new learning. Warham, the archbishop, himself became chancellor of the university. Oxford, indeed, was the first home of the English Renaissance, and it was this great movement which was to guide the fortunes of the Church. The small circle of Erasmus' friends was destined to do a great, though often silent, work. 'When I listen to Colet, my friend,' he wrote, 'I seem to hear Plato himself. Who wonders not at Grocyn's wide knowledge? Whose judgment could be more piercing, deep, and clear, than Linacre's? And when did Nature form a character gentler, more loving, or more happy, than that of Thomas More?' To men such as these, happily, and to men

Warham.

whom they influenced, England was to owe the reformation of her Church.

Henry VIII. ascended the throne on April 22, 1509. He was a man of great ability, a scholar, skilled in all exercises, pious in outward observance, but of passions which he seemed not to attempt to govern. He was a lion, as More said years later, and it was dangerous for a lion to know his strength. At first he did not know, but he was not long in learning. Immediately after his accession he married Catharine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. Such a marriage was contrary to the law of the Catholic Church, but the popes claimed the power to dispense with Church laws, and Pope Julius II. had given a dispensation for this marriage. The new queen was a good woman, and the marriage gave England the alliance of Spain and the Empire, but the dispensation, though it appeared to do England a political service, was an outrage on the Church which was not to pass unavenged.

Henry VIII. 1509-1547.

When Henry came to the throne the primate was in full sympathy with the new learning; but the scandals in the Church remained. The action of the Church courts was extremely unpopular. The jurisdiction over moral offences was said to be unfairly pressed and to be exercised through an army of informers. Restriction of the privilege or 'benefit of clergy' was carried in Parliament, and great irritation against the laity was plain in the action of the Convocations. But the archbishop was not blind to the evils, and there was a serious attempt to reform abuses from within. The bishops visited and censured, the preachers protested and showed the better way. But still the outward prosperity of the Church stifled any effective reformation. The Church was popular, it seems, just in proportion as her work was ineffective. The end of the Middle Ages was a great era of church-building. The magnificent Perpendicular churches which are found in so many of the English towns and villages, which were prosperous in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., show that the rich merchants and the craftsmen were keen supporters of the Church. The monasteries and churches had much treasure of gold and silver: an Italian observer spoke of the great

Position of the Church at the accession of Henry VIII.

Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian monasteries in England as 'more like baronial than religious houses.'

Outwardly, then, the Church in England was strong, but she was completely at the mercy of the State. Inwardly she was weak, not only on account of the absence of fervour among the clergy, but because she was divided. One part was intensely conservative, clinging to superstitions which keen-witted men derided, obedient to the popes even at a time of degradation of the Papacy, averse to the new learning which was slowly reaching England from Italy. A second party was alive to all the influences of the Renaissance, full of interest in Biblical study, in Greek, and in Church reform, but thoroughly loyal to the Catholic faith. And there was gradually arising a third party, ill-constructed but enthusiastic, which was ready, not only to throw off the papal yoke, but also to break in many respects with the historic traditions of the Christian Church.

As the Tudors became firmly seated on the throne, as their power, under Wolsey, increased abroad as well as at home, and as the people found that they represented and fostered all their material interests of trade, of discovery, and learning, it came to depend entirely on the kings' will what form the English Reformation, in its beginnings, should take. But the kings' power went no further. They could not have stopped a reformation, for the bishops (such as Morton and Warham, Fox and Wolsey) were determined to reform. They could not have prevented a separation, at least to a very considerable extent, from Rome, for the laity were determined to restrict the Pope's powers, and the clergy chafed under the intolerable financial burden he laid on them, and resented the constant appointment of foreigners, who never intended to be resident, to English benefices. A reformation in England was absolutely certain, though few Englishmen and no foreigners foresaw it. A Venetian ambassador in England under Henry VII. regarded the clergy as supreme in war and peace, and the people as almost stupidly loyal to the Church. England seemed to be more insular and isolated than ever. Henry VII. desired, he said, to 'make a brazen wall round his dominions,' and it might seem as if this would exclude religious as well as political influences from abroad.

The coming Reformation.

But it was impossible to check the national discontent with Rome, or the longing of earnest men for the reform of abuses, or the literary influences, liberating and widening, of the revival of learning. An English Reformation was inevitable. Its guidance would inevitably fall into the hands of the strongest power, and that was the Monarchy. Such was the state of affairs in England when Henry VIII. came to know his power.

Wales.

In the west and the north it was different. Wales was now practically at one with England, now ruled by the Tudor kings of Welsh blood. But it was not favourable to reformation, and when the king set himself to dissolve monasteries and to give their property to laymen, he had but very little support in Wales. Under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the Reformation made little progress among the Welsh, but the spoliation impoverished the Church beyond recovery.

Scotland.

In Scotland the need of moral reformation was far more prominent than south of the Tweed. The bishops, often employed in State affairs, and generally of royal or noble descent, were unworthy to rule or guide the Church.

The corruption of the Scots Church.

The ancient Church of Scotland, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was corrupt beyond the power of internal reform. The monasteries had ceased to preserve the religious life. James I., writing to the abbats and priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian houses in March 1425, warned them that they had sunk from their first estate, that their splendid endowments were useless in their hands, that they were preparing their own ruin. Already destruction menaced them; only repentance, which he, the best of the Scots kings, would have most joyfully assisted, could save them. New foundations, nevertheless, were not uncommon even in the worst times; but they took more generally the form of collegiate than of monastic churches. Hamilton and Dunbarton both received collegiate endowments in 1451, and in the same year the great university of Glasgow was founded, and additional benefactions were made to the college of S. Salvator at S. Andrews. S. Giles's, Edinburgh, was made collegiate in 1468. In 1495-7 the university of Aberdeen was founded, but the older religious houses remained without improvement. A petition of James II. in 1459 besought

the Pope to turn a friary into a hospital on account of the wickedness of the brethren. Moral decay and material prosperity went hand in hand. In 1472 Pope Sixtus IV., by bull, created S. Andrews an archbishopric with metropolitan rights over all Scotland. Protests were raised in every quarter,—from the bishops, who were not anxious for so near an overlordship; from the Archbishop of York, whose immemorial rights were thus taken away; from the Archbishop of Drontheim, who lost the jurisdiction over the sees of Orkney and the Isles. Side by side with this new dignity came degradation. Patrick Graham, the first Archbishop of S. Andrews, was condemned in 1478 for many grievous offences, and as a heretic and schismatic was deposed from his see, degraded from his orders, and imprisoned for life. In 1492 Glasgow was also made an archbishopric, taking four sees from the rule of S. Andrews.

But all the while the decay of the Church was proceeding rapidly, and in the reign of James IV. (1488-1513) it advanced rapidly towards dissolution. Again and again councils, under reforming bishops, passed canons which show too clearly how deep was the evil. The clergy were notoriously immoral. Later on, prelates, such as the great Archbishop Beaton, lived scandalously, and Mary Queen of Scots herself commented bitterly on the evil life of Archbishop Hamilton. In 1540 an Act of Parliament declared that 'the unhonesty and misrule of kirkmen both in wit, knowledge, and manners, is the matter and cause that the kirk and kirkmen are lightlied and contemned.' In 1549 a provincial council met at Edinburgh which declared that all the troubles of the Church were due to the 'corrupt manners and profane lewdness of ecclesiastical persons of almost all ranks, together with their crass ignorance of letters and of all culture.'

Lollard teaching was found in Scotland as well as in England, and an act for burning heretics was passed even earlier than the *de haeretico comburendo*. The first burning under it occurred in 1407; but eighteen years later a special act was passed to order search for all Lollards and heretics. It was already found that they were a political as well as a religious danger, and their numbers grew continually during the fifteenth century in spite of persecution. Luther's writings were

Heresy in Scotland.

received early and read with avidity in Scotland. In 1525 an Act was passed forbidding their importation. From 1527 Knox himself dates the beginning of the Reformation in his own country.

But besides the moral evils and the Lollard teaching there were other, even more important, causes of the Scottish Reformation. These were especially the abuses which came from the great wealth of the Church. While the parishes were very large in extent, and ill-provided for, the endowments, particularly of the higher Church offices, were extremely large. The Scots priesthood was, relatively, the richest in Europe, and the Church was believed to possess one-half of the wealth of the whole nation. The bestowal of offices and benefices was unscrupulous to the last degree, and the kings and bishops were chiefly to blame for it. James IV. appointed his brother, then only twenty-one, to the see of S. Andrews in 1497. The Pope granted a dispensation for the breach of canon law. He lived only till 1503: it is doubtful if he was ever consecrated, but it is certain that he exercised the fullest powers, and enjoyed to the greatest extent the possessions of the archbishop. After a vacancy of six years the see was given, again with the Pope's consent, who also made the archbishop his legate, to Alexander Stewart, the king's illegitimate son. The lad at the time of his appointment was only sixteen years old. There was no graver scandal in the days of the degradation of the Scots Church. With such prelates, and with others immersed wholly in affairs of State, it was not surprising that religion seemed to have died out among the clergy. When Archbishop Beaton, who wore a coat of mail under his ecclesiastical dress, struck his breast, in appealing to his conscience for witness of his innocence of a charge of riot, the armour rattled. 'Alas, my lord,' said Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, 'I perceive your conscience clatters.' There were some active bishops, but too few to leaven the whole mass. Bishop Brown of Dunkeld did much to evangelise and endow his see, now threatened on all sides by the wild Highland chiefs. Elphinstone, the founder of the university of Aberdeen in 1494, was a scholar and a loyal ecclesiastic, and in 1496 the first compulsory education law was passed by the Scots Parliament, ordering all

James IV., 1488-1513.

barons and freeholders to send their sons to school. The literary training of the next twenty years did a great deal to make the Reformation popular, but it was not sufficient to guide it upon ancient lines. Erasmus was among the teachers of the young archbishop of S. Andrews, and what might have been the result if he had lived, it is difficult to say. But the first steps towards the Scottish Reformation were taken when both Alexander and his father had passed away. In 1513 there was war between England and Scotland, and on September 9th, James IV. and Alexander, Archbishop of S. Andrews, fell fighting on the field of Flodden. The bishops of Caithness and of the Isles were also among the slain. This great national disaster, as will be seen, profoundly affected the fortunes of the Scottish Church. The Reformation began in earnest among the defeated people.

The battle of Flodden.

In England, soon after the battle of Flodden, a distinct step was made towards the inevitable Reformation. It was made in an unexpected way. Thomas Wolsey, the king's chief adviser, who had raised the nation to a position in Europe not enjoyed since the death of Henry V., was made Archbishop of York, and received from the Pope the office of legate. He claimed precedence over the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the contest between them did not tend to the edification of the Church. But Wolsey was far from averse to reform. He suppressed several monasteries and founded colleges, following the example of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and of the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII. He was in full sympathy with the new learning, and it is likely that if no further disturbance had occurred, he might have succeeded in bringing the English Church into harmony with the wants of the people. But the movement for reform became complicated by the introduction of the new teaching of the German reformers. From 1517 Martin Luther, an Austin friar, led an opposition to the Papacy and the doctrines of the mediæval Church, which rapidly spread from Germany to England. He attacked the whole system on which the Pope's power rested, and particularly condemned the indulgences, which Wyclif, nearly two centuries before, had opposed in England. Wolsey was long

Wolsey.

Luther.

reluctant to take extreme measures. He solemnly burned the heretical writings. He encouraged the king, with the assistance of Thomas More, to write a treatise against Luther, for which Leo X. dignified him with the title of Defender of the Faith, a title still retained by the English sovereigns as a proof that they preserve that Catholic faith which Henry VIII.'s writing was believed to have vindicated. It was hoped that the learning of the new Cardinal's College at Oxford would complete the defeat of the new opinions, but the publication of the Bible in English, translated by William Tyndale with some comments directed to support Lutheran teaching, led to a great increase of religious controversy in England, to the creation of a secret religious society called the 'Christian Brotherhood,' and to the burning of several persons under the statute *de haeretico comburendo*. It was at this point that the movement for reform, led from within by bishops favouring the new learning, and from without by men influenced by the German teaching, became complicated by the private affairs of King Henry VIII.

At the time of the dispensation for his marriage, no doubt for political reasons, a protest was made on his behalf against the contract, but for a time the king appeared satisfied with his wife. The death, however, of all his children but one daughter made him think seriously of the future of his dynasty, and his vagrant affection, long straying about his court, had been fixed on Anne Bullen, a lady of great beauty but of no high principle, whom he promised to make his wife. Divorce was impossible in the Western Church, and Henry now sought a declaration from the Pope that his marriage, in spite of papal authority for it, was absolutely null, being contrary to law. From 1525 to 1533 Henry was engaged in trying every means he could think of to procure a declaration of the nullity of his marriage. Archbishop Warham had never been in favour of it. Wolsey, probably for political reasons, was quite ready to support the king in his desire to procure its dissolution. Year after year the Pope, who was most anxious not to offend the Emperor Charles V., Catharine of Aragon's nephew, played with the negotiation, and avoided giving a decision. He granted a dispensation, probably on the suggestion of a clever but not very

The divorce question.

scrupulous theologian, Thomas Cranmer, to Henry to marry another wife, while his first marriage remained undissolved; but he withdrew it before it could be acted on. He issued various commissions to persons to try the case, but they all proved on investigation to give no power to declare a final decision. The difficulty was increased by the fact that Pope Julius II. had not only given a dispensation for the marriage but a brief, which was in possession of the Spanish court, stating his permission and its reasons in still stronger form. At length the Pope granted a commission to Wolsey and an Italian cardinal named Campeggio to hear the case. Their court was opened in the palace at Blackfriars on May 31, 1529. But early in July the Pope recalled the case to Rome, and the whole suit broke down. The king in a rage disgraced Wolsey. He was proceeded against under the statute of Praemunire for acting as papal legate in England; most unjustly, as all he had done had been done by the king's consent and authority. After being violently attacked in Parliament he received the king's pardon, and he was allowed to retain the Archbishopric of York, though he was obliged to give up the Bishopric of Winchester (which he had received in 1528), and the abbey of S. Albans. He prepared to be enthroned in York Minster. He had never visited his see since he was appointed to it in 1514. It seemed for a while as if the great statesman who had raised England high among the nations of Europe, the great churchman who, with many failings, had yet seen the needs of the age and sympathised with the intellectual movement for reform, was to end his days peacefully in the work of his great diocese. When the discovery of some of his secret correspondence was made the occasion for a charge of high treason, he was arrested, ordered to the Tower, and died at the abbey of Leicester on his way southwards, November 30, 1530.

Disgrace of Wolsey.

Henry had already abandoned all hope of obtaining from the Pope the dissolution of his marriage. Thomas Cranmer, chaplain to Anne Bullen's brother, suggested that the king should obtain the opinion of the universities as to the point which lay at the root of the whole matter. Could the Pope dispense with such a law as that which forbade marriage with a deceased brother's wife? If he could not, his dispensation was invalid, and Henry

had never been lawfully married at all. There were many cases where popes quite recently had dissolved marriages for which dispensation had been granted, but the course suggested by Cranmer seemed much the simplest one. Cranmer was taken up by the court: the king said 'he had the right sow by the ear'; and he was sent to Rome and to the Italian universities to do what he could to carry out his plan. Many opinions were given in the king's favour. In England the strongest pressure was put upon Oxford and Cambridge, but the decision at which they arrived was very carefully guarded and did not plainly take the king's side. Parliament remonstrated with the Pope, but nothing came of it. The Pope avoided giving a decision, and at last Henry, supported by the opinion of many learned theologians and several of the foreign universities, which were laid before Parliament, that no power could dispense from the Divine law forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's wife, sought the advice of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. These both decided, in 1533, that his marriage was illegal. Even before this decision Thomas Cranmer, who had chiefly advised him in the later stages of the affair, and was on the death of Warham, in August 1532, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, married him, probably in November 1532, to Anne Bullen. He then held a court as Archbishop of Canterbury and declared the first marriage illegal, and after that, the second marriage valid. On Whit Sunday, June 1, 1533, Anne Bullen was crowned. On September 5, 1533, a daughter was born, who was baptized by the name of Elizabeth. On March 23, 1534, the Pope at last pronounced his formal decision that the first marriage was legal. He had already declared Cranmer's proceedings illegal and threatened to excommunicate the king. Henry's violent breach with the Papacy and the appointment of the new archbishop gave a special direction to the Reformation that was now in full progress.

Henry's new marriage.

Already much had been done. Early in the reign of Henry VIII. the freedom of the clergy of whatever degree from any courts but their own, which had become a source of great discontent and indignation among the laity, was restricted. The Church courts were extremely unpopular, in consequence of their excessive

charges and their interference with the laity under every pretext. This unpopularity and the increase of modern learning in England were two very efficient causes leading to a reform of the Church. The opinions of foreign reformers had not as yet any widespread influence, but they tended to increase the feeling of unrest and to strengthen the king's hands when he undertook to destroy the Pope's power. So far the great majority of Englishmen were with him, though they were indifferent or hostile to the declaration of the nullity of his marriage.

In 1529 a Parliament met which represented a large body of opinion, and was willing to assist Henry in all his plans. Sir Thomas More, the friend of Erasmus and the advocate of an enlightened Catholicism, who had long been the friend of the king and the constant correspondent of Wolsey, had been made Chancellor. He was known to be opposed to the dissolution of the king's marriage; but in his speech at the opening of Parliament he vindicated the king's action in dismissing Wolsey, and spoke severely of the policy of the fallen minister. The Parliament was set on Church reform, and the king was ready to urge it forward. It proceeded to pass many acts against the abuses of the mediæval constitution of the Church. Acts against excessive charges and obtaining licences from Rome to hold pluralities (*i.e.* several benefices at once) were passed. The clergy took alarm. Convocation protested against any interference with their privileges. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, declared in the House of Lords that there was a report that the smaller monasteries were to be given up to the king; 'which makes me fear,' he said, 'it is not so much the good as the goods of the Church that is looked after.' No heed was paid to such language. In January 1531 Acts were passed against proctors and pardoners (*i.e.* persons selling the Pope's pardons), ordering them to be treated as vagrants. The king had now entered the lists against the clergy. He declared them all guilty, under the Act of Praemunire, for accepting Wolsey as legate, and the judges confirmed this interpretation of the law, placing the entire property of the clergy at the king's mercy. The Convocation of Canterbury offered £100,000 (equal in value to more than a million pounds now) to buy their pardon. The Convocation of

Sir Thomas More.

Acts of Reform.

York got off for £18,840. But this was not all. The king felt that the question at issue between himself and the Pope could not long be postponed, and it was important for him to have at his back the whole force of his kingdom. He determined that the ancient rights of the crown as supreme over Church as well as State should be reasserted and fully recognised. The nation must declare that it did not owe obedience to the foreign bishop. Thus Archbishop Warham was directed to require of Convocation, before the royal pardon, a statement that the king was supreme head of the Church. A long negotiation, and considerable discussion, ensued; but at length it was agreed that the statement should be made, but in a modified form, and in 1531 the Convocations of Canterbury and York formally agreed that the king was 'the singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and as far as is permitted by the law of Christ, even the supreme head' of the Church of England. Henry expressly declared that he claimed no spiritual power; 'as to sacraments and spiritual things,' he wrote, 'they have no head but Christ'; and the Act was accepted by the great majority of Englishmen as merely declaratory of the claim always made by the English kings.

The royal supremacy.

This formal acceptance by the Convocations was followed almost immediately by a severe attack on Church abuses, courts, exaction of money for sacraments, the constant charges of heresy, and the like, which was made in a petition of the House of Commons to the king. Bishop Gardiner of Winchester drew up a defence, but the king declared it to be 'very slender.' He proceeded next to require that the clergy should agree (according to the customs of William the Conqueror) that no canons should be enacted without his consent, that the ancient canons should be received, and that those which were approved should stand good by the king's consent. This, in a modified form, was accepted by the Convocations, and is called the Submission of the Clergy (May 1532).

Having made such concessions to the king, the Convocations of Canterbury clearly thought that it was time to win something for themselves. They had long suffered under the papal demand, gradually enforced since the thirteenth century, for the *annates*, or first year's income of bishoprics and other benefices. They now petitioned the king to cause the Pope

The Annates Act.

to abolish them, and they added, 'forasmuch as all good Christian men be more bound to obey God than any man, and forasmuch as S. Paul willeth us to withdraw ourselves from all such as walk inordinately, it may please the king's most noble majesty to ordain in this present Parliament, that then the obedience of him and his people be withdrawn from the see of Rome, as in like case the French king withdrew his obedience of him and his subjects from Pope Benedict, xiii. of that name, and arrested by authority of his Parliament all such annates.' An Act of Parliament at once accepted this, declared that they should no more be paid, but that instead a small sum should be paid to the Pope on institution. It was ordered that this Act should be held in suspense for a year, but that if the Pope did not consent, it should still be in force, and no attention should be paid to any interdict or censures from Rome. This Act was followed by the Act for the Restraint of Appeals, which ordered that, to keep the kingdom 'from the annoyance as well of the see of Rome as from the authority of other foreign potentates,' all causes belonging to the spiritual jurisdiction should be decided in the English courts and no appeal to Rome be allowed.

Thus the Church was freed, partly at its own request, partly through the action of the State, from some of its chief grievances with regard to Rome. It was at this moment that the Pope at last pronounced that Henry's first marriage was legal; and now the king was eager to press on every measure which should separate the National Church from Rome. In 1534 Acts were passed ordering that elections to bishoprics and abbeys should be without authority from Rome, but by the king's licence, with a letter from him naming the person who should be elected; forbidding papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's pence, and providing for the creation of suffragan bishoprics. Thus in 1534 England and Rome were separated, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, had assumed something of the position which Urban II. had attributed to S. Anselm, of 'Pope of another world.' The position of the English Church was confirmed by the declaration of the Convocations that the 'Bishop of Rome hath not by Scripture any greater authority in England than any other foreign bishop.'

Separation from Rome.

Parliament then passed an Act confirming the Royal Supremacy in terms far beyond those agreed to by the clergy. The statute *de haeretico comburendo* was repealed, yet heretics were still proceeded against, though during the chancellorship of More but mildly. But now the king's tyranny began. He was well aware that his marriage with Anne Bullen was most unpopular, and the succession of his daughter Elizabeth most uncertain. The Supremacy Act was pressed against those who imagined anything contrary to the royal claim, and oaths were required to the succession which involved a declaration that the first marriage was null and void. Under these acts two of the most saintly Englishmen, Bishop Fisher of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, and some of the monks of the London Charterhouse, perished on the scaffold. The lion knew his strength and used it brutally. The next action of the king went beyond all that had ever been claimed. He issued a licence to his minister Thomas Cromwell, who had aided him in all his recent acts, to exercise all manner of jurisdiction belonging to the royal supremacy, and giving him power to visit, as the bishops visited, the whole of England.

This was at once followed by an inquiry into the condition of the monasteries, conducted by creatures of Cromwell. The results of this were laid before Parliament, and in February 1536 an Act was passed by which all religious houses whose property was under £200 a year were 'given to the king's highness.' It was thought that this would save the greater houses, for the abbats in the House of Lords consented to it. But they did not save their own abbeys. Several of the greater houses were now induced to surrender themselves into the king's hands. A rebellion in the north, called the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' was sternly suppressed, and the abbat of Whalley, with the abbats of Hexham, Furness, Jervaulx, and several other ecclesiastics, were executed for taking part in it. The clergy, with very few exceptions, had gladly taken the oath of supremacy, but now the oath, or different offences connected with the surrender of the abbeys, such as the concealing of property, were pretexts for charges of treason against some of the heads of the houses which still remained; and the abbats of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury were executed as traitors. Terror fell upon the

The dissolution of the monasteries.

whole land. The most pathetic accounts record the closing and the robbery of the last religious houses. The monks, though generally with pensions, were turned out into the world to which they were strangers. An immense treasure fell into Henry's hands; and with the lands he enriched many of his greedy courtiers.

The causes which led Parliament so readily to pass the Acts which brought about the dissolution of the monasteries are not far to seek. It is clear that the king and his minister Thomas Cromwell looked with greedy eyes on the monastic lands, and on the riches in plate and jewels of the religious houses. It is clear that the visitors whom they sent round to investigate the condition of the monasteries were expected to find, and intended to find, facts that would justify the confiscation. But these causes, which might tend to make us regard the whole affair as mere unscrupulous robbery, do not go far in explaining what happened. Wise, learned, Catholic men had already suppressed monasteries: the result of the suppression was, with conspicuous exceptions, received with the utmost tranquillity. It is idle to assert that Henry terrorised the Commons into passing the bills, when we remember that twenty years later, not all the pressure of Italy and of Rome could induce Parliament to restore the system which it had destroyed. It is quite certain that monasticism had become unpopular, and it is probable that the majority of Englishmen regarded it as incurably useless. The poorer monasteries, by the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., were in many cases on the verge of bankruptcy. Their lands were their only property, and these they did not know how to use. They farmed on an antiquated method; they were entirely opposed to the economic tendencies of an age of free competition. The monks, once foremost in agricultural improvement, had now sunk out of count in the struggle which brought energetic men of business to the front. They were good landlords but bad farmers. The greater monasteries kept pompous state, and were busy with trifles of internal management, with doles that did as much harm as good, with dignity which vexed the jealous nobles and merchant men. The great abbats were often prominent country gentlemen and keen sportsmen; but this did not add to their popularity.

Its real causes.

It is curious to read the bitter complaints which the last abbat of Glastonbury, on the very eve of the dissolution, made against poachers of his game. It is plain that, save in alms-giving, which seemed to the industrious country-folk merely the encouragement of a crowd of idle beggars, great country abbats won popularity from no class in the nation. In an age of intense activity they alone lived a humdrum and unaltered life. The laity could not any longer understand their isolation ; the beauty of a cloistered life had ceased to appeal to an age which was no longer vexed with constant internal wars. The parish clergy, and the lay folk who valued the ministrations of a resident priesthood, keenly resented the constant encroachment of the religious houses upon the parish priests and the parish endowments. To many the dissolution of the monasteries must have seemed a step taken in favour of the ordinary clergy, whose places these great corporations, chiefly of laymen, had so inadequately supplied. In 1529 Convocation ordered that these abuses should be investigated and amended ; but serious writers had often urged it before, and now it was too late. And save for those fed by doles, or those (too often rich men like Sir Thomas More, or Thomas Cromwell himself), who were granted 'corrodies,' or benefactions, from the monasteries, no one profited, outwardly at least, by the monastic system. The monk was isolated : he had no vocation to the outer world : the community worked together for its own objects, not for the world. Even the religion of the monk was self-centred. The beautiful monastic churches were for the brethren, not for the people. In some, such as the great abbey of Evesham, the worshipper was excluded, not only from the choir but from the whole church ; and sometimes a separate and inferior church was built for the people. Antiquated, useless, and alien to the spirit of the new age, the monks might still have been suffered to linger on, if all houses had really borne the high character which the Act of Parliament abolishing the smaller houses gave to 'divers great and solemn monasteries of their realm, wherein religion is right well kept and observed.' But this was not the case. The serious accusations against the morality of the monks that are proved, cover but a small proportion of the religious. Out of the many expelled from the monasteries (possibly as many as eight thousand)

not three hundred were charged with vice. But however little credence may be attached to the evidence of the interested visitors of Cromwell, it is impossible to close the ears to the statements of absolutely unprejudiced authorities some years before the dissolution came in question. Serious offences were not uncommon among monks, and the larger houses had their own prisons for 'all such as were great offenders.' The visitations of Southwell, the acts of the Ripon chapter, and the visitations of the diocese of Norwich, in the reign of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., show that grave scandals, though not common, were far from unknown. In 1514, at Wymondham, Bishop Richard Nicke had to take stern measures against all kinds of licence, drunkenness and revellings, brawls, and utter disregard of the monastic rule. At Norwich priory, in 1492, the rule was greatly relaxed, and there was much frivolity, if nothing worse: in 1514 there were much graver charges, from dancing in the great hall by night to open immorality. It is quite true that these cases, so far as can be judged, were exceptions to the general life of the English monasteries, but it is equally certain that these exceptions were noted, and that the knowledge of them swelled the cry with which the House of Commons greeted the list of their 'enormities': it is true also that it was their uselessness rather than anything worse which really caused their destruction, and that the Crown and Parliament, so far as was consistent with robbing them, showed them no ill feeling, for they pensioned those whose bread they were taking away (and among them, rightly enough, even the vicious, who were no more capable of earning their living than the others), and promoted several of the abbats before long to bishoprics.

That Henry's religious changes were not received everywhere with indifference was made plain by the Pilgrimage of Grace. It was confined to the northern shires, where education had proceeded less rapidly than in the south, and it had no doubt political and social as well as religious causes at its back. But it seemed for the moment to be very near success, and the sternness of the suppression showed how much Henry was alarmed. The Pilgrimage of Grace.

With his supremacy firmly established, apparently with the

consent of the vast majority of the laity and of nearly all the clergy, and with the English Church no longer under the control of Rome, the time was come when it must be decided what attitude Henry should assume with regard to the foreign reformers. For several years England had been flooded with pamphlets written against both the mediæval teaching and the ancient doctrine of the Church. Sir Thomas More, most eloquent and witty of living writers, was set to answer them, and he said they came 'in vats-full.' He engaged in controversy with Tyndale, with Fryth (who wrote against the 'worship' of the Eucharist), with Barnes (a friar who attacked the doctrine of the Church) and others. Persecution, in which Cranmer took part, continued, and Fryth was burned on July 4, 1533, an act which led Parliament at once to modify the heresy laws. If the king and the bishops showed no sympathy with the opinions of Luther, or the more extreme and logical theories of the Swiss writer Zwingli, they were none the less active in extirpating any remains of the obedience to Rome. The king, in 1534, ordered that all books naming the Bishop of Rome 'and his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority' should be defaced. The supremacy, as we have already said, was accepted by the bishops, as it seems, gladly, and everywhere preached by the clergy. The Convocation of Canterbury voted on March 31, 1534, 'that the Roman bishop has no greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop,' a statement which was accepted by the university of Cambridge. The Convocation of York voted on June 1, 1534, 'that the Roman bishop has not in the Holy Scriptures any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop,' a form which Oxford also accepted. Nor was the Church satisfied with negative statements. The king had condemned Tyndale's translation of the Bible; another appeared under his own patronage. In 1535 Miles Coverdale published his version, which was not made from the originals but from the Vulgate (Latin) and German translations, but which served to fill the gap till the bishops should produce the version which they had long promised. In 1534 a *Prymer*, or book of private devotion, was also put out, but without authority. More important was the *Book of the Ten Articles*,

Persecution of Lutherans.

issued in 1536, drawn up by the Convocation of Canterbury, and issued by the king's authority. They were based to some extent on the Confession of Augsburg, the great statement of Lutheran opinions, but they were carefully revised so as to accord with the ancient teaching of the Church. The Real Presence of Christ under the figure of bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist was distinctly declared, but no phrase implying transubstantiation was used. Penance, with confession to a priest, was enjoined. One of the most prominent points in the teaching of the Lutherans was their doctrine of 'justification of faith.' The English articles declared that justification is 'attained by contrition and faith joined with charity, for the sake of the merits of Christ's passion.' Honour to the saints was enjoined, but not such honour as is due to God. Prayers for the dead were declared good and charitable, but the Roman doctrine of purgatory, which had had such unhappy results in England, was condemned. 'It is superstition and folly to think that the Pope's pardon can help them, or that masses can deliver them from their pain' (*i.e.* punishment, *cf.* above, p. 102). The doctrine of the Church of England was clearly declared to be based on the Bible and the first four General Councils of the undivided Church. These Articles were by no means cordially received in the north, where a meeting of clergy at York protested against several of the innovations and in favour of the headship of the Pope. No notice was taken of the protest, and the king for the time seems to have been willing to wait till educated opinion should draw men together. In 1537 was published *The Institution of a Christian Man*, a book drawn up by the bishops, with other learned divines, as an instruction in faith and life, and commonly called *The Bishop's Book*. It emphasised the teaching of the Ten Articles. New versions of the Bible followed, and finally in 1539 the Great Bible, not prepared, but welcomed, by the bishops. It had already been ordered that a Bible should be set up in every church, for the people to read: and the parish priests were instructed to teach their people the Creed, Commandments, and Our Father in English. Already in some places the mass was said in English.

The Ten Articles.

'The Institution of a Christian Man.'

A strange example of the force of Henry's imperious will was seen in 1538, when, partly to assert the royal power to which the life and death of the saint seemed to be an example of triumphant opposition, partly to gratify his greed and avarice, Henry, by a ridiculous travesty of legal forms, decreed S. Thomas of Canterbury to be a false saint, ordered his name to be erased from all books, destroyed his tomb, burnt his bones, and appropriated the vast treasures of his shrine.

If it seemed that some of these steps showed an approximation towards the tenets of foreign Protestantism (as the opposition to the Pope and the Church on the lines of Luther or Zwingli was now called), this was soon shown to be a mistake. Convocation drew up a statement of doctrine known as the Six Articles, which Parliament in June 1539 passed into law. These stated (1) that in the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, the natural Body of our Saviour is present under the form of bread and wine, 'and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.' This did not state the doctrine of transubstantiation in the materialistic manner asserted by Archbishop Arundel (above, p. 106). (2) That communion in both kinds is not necessary; (3) that priests, after their ordination as priests, may not marry; (4) that vows of chastity ought to be observed; (5) that private masses should be retained; (6) that auricular confession is expedient and necessary. Parliament, always ready to persecute, affixed the severest penalties to any breach of these articles, and, in the case of the first, burning and confiscation of property were declared to be the punishment.

The Six Articles.

The Act was followed by the resignation of two bishops who had accepted much of the foreign reformers' teaching, Latimer, Bishop of Salisbury, and Thaxton, Bishop of Worcester. Cranmer' position also seemed to be in danger, for he had long been married, and he was now put to strange shifts, as the Archdeacon of Canterbury of the time tells, to conceal his 'pretty nobsey,' who was even, it is declared, kept at times for safety in a large box. A year later the punishment for clerical matrimony and for failing to put away a wife was modified from death to imprison-

ment ; but still the king, though he continued to feel the usefulness of Cranmer, held him in the hollow of his hand.

Thomas Cromwell, to whom more than any other the dissolution of the monasteries was due, an unprincipled man who cared not for matters of faith but whose work was, as he said, 'to make and to mar,' was anxious to bring the king forward as a champion of the strong German Protestant party which was opposed to the emperor. The king was now a widower. The marriage of Anne Bullen, who was accused of adultery, had been declared null on pitiable pretexts by the supple Cranmer, and she had been executed as a traitress. Jane Seymour, whom the king next married, had died after giving birth to a son named Edward. Cromwell now induced the king to marry Anne of Cleves, the sister of one of the Protestant princes. Hardly had the marriage taken place when it was cynically repudiated, Cranmer again consenting to the disgraceful act. Henry was disgusted with his German bride ; he was tired of Cromwell, and his wrath fell upon the minister who was no longer necessary. On July 28, 1540, the hated instrument of the king's worst acts was beheaded as a traitor, and on the same day the king married Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk, whose influence would be all in favour of the old opinions. Thus a reaction seemed imminent. A moment intervened after the fall of Cromwell when the Government took a direction more favourable to the old views. A curious medley was the result. Two days after he was executed three men were burned, under the act *de haeretico comburendo*, for Lutheran opinions, and at the same time three others were hanged for favouring the Pope. A foreign observer no doubt rightly interpreted popular feeling when he wrote, 'It was wonderful to see adherents to the two opposing parties dying at the same time, and it gave offence to both.'

Fall of Cromwell.

Continued persecution.

The number of executions, on both charges, was a shameful blot on the next few years. Many martyrs for Protestant opinions (such as Anne Kyme or Ayscough) and for the mediæval beliefs suffered at the stake ; and the aged Countess of Salisbury, the king's near kinswoman, whose son Reginald Pole had bitterly attacked the tyranny of Henry and denounced the murder of Fisher and More, was beheaded.

In 1540 the ancient military order of S. John of Jerusalem was suppressed and its property seized by the crown. In 1544 the Act of the Six Articles was slightly modified. In 1543 the king, with the assistance of Cranmer, put out the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, a further instruction in Christian doctrine, still largely on the old lines, which received the sanction of Convocation and was generally known as *The King's Book*. During the last year of the reign the old service-books had been constantly printed: authorised English versions now began to appear. In 1544 the litany, or 'procession,' was ordered to be sung in English in every parish church. In 1545 a *Prymer* was authorised which omitted the mediæval devotions to the Blessed Virgin.

Later religious books.

In the last year of his life Henry was wracked by disease, and his violence increased. After the desecration of Becket's shrine the Pope had excommunicated him and declared him deposed from his throne, the last an act which was quite beyond the province of a spiritual power. England and Rome were separated, and remained politically deadly foes.

Within a year and a half of his marriage to Catharine Howard she was charged with adultery and executed, Cranmer again investigating the crime. Henry then married a sixth wife, Catharine Parr, who is believed to have been in favour of reforming opinions and to have exercised a slightly moderating influence on the tyrant she married. The last acts of his reign were little concerned with religion. He completed the endowment of Christ Church, Oxford, which had been begun by Wolsey out of the priory of S. Frideswide, and of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1546. Worn out with suffering, he died on January 28, 1547, having completely exhausted his people's affection.

Death of Henry VIII.

To Henry VIII., masterful, brutal, unprincipled as he was, the English Church owes, in some degree, her reformation. Everywhere a reform was needed and longed for, and a separation from Rome was accepted generally with intense relief. But the violence with which the reform was effected, the butchery, greed, and recklessness of the means, were due wholly to Henry, who opened the floodgates and let out the forces of iconoclasm and violence which for the time ruined art and divided society. It was a terrible sacrifice to offer for the freedom

His work.

of the English Church, and many of the most beautiful lives were offered up amid the tears and protests of Europe. But the assertion of national freedom was worth a heavy price; and that the nation was ready to pay it is seen by the readiness with which the changes were accepted. Henry VIII. carried through the reformation of his reign because he had the people of England at his back. But the reign of Henry VIII. by no means represents the English Reformation in any complete light. Very great importance attaches to it because it swept away much that was never restored, much that all reformers, whether Catholic or Protestant, wished to see put away. But its importance may easily be exaggerated, for the changes made in the following reigns were in many ways equally great. Much was put back, much more was taken away. We may sum up its results as follows:—(1) The Church of England decisively rejected the supremacy of the Pope in all matters in which it was repudiated by the law of the land. (2) The Church recognised the royal supremacy 'so far as the law of Christ allows,' and the claim of freedom from Rome, long made by king and people, and the power exercised by them ever since the beginning of English history, was formally declared lawful by Church and State. (3) The Church of England dissociated herself from any action of the foreign reformers, claimed to have the right to govern and reform herself, and asserted her determination not to separate from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church.

The death of Henry VIII. removed the great personality which had controlled, though it had not initiated, every movement of reformation during the last thirty years. Henry was a trained theologian, and he had clear ideas on religious as well as political questions. But when he died the course of affairs took an entirely new direction. The new king was a child, whose personal wishes, though he had much of the Tudor strength of will, could have little influence on the progress of events. Round him were either unprincipled statesmen, greedy of honour and wealth, and careless as to the means they employed, or weak men and timid thinkers, ready to believe the best of persons in authority, and not unwilling to modify their convictions at the dictates of those whom they were not strong

Edward VI. and his ministers.

enough to influence. To the first class belonged the king's uncle, Lord Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, whom the Council elected as Protector during the minority. He was not without genuine feeling for Protestantism and for the poor, but far closer to his heart was his personal ambition, which led him eventually to the scaffold. Cranmer, who belonged to the second class, was a man such as statesmen often choose for ecclesiastical preferment. He was learned, a fluent writer and talker, who could be trusted not to let political or religious opponents have the last word, but whose lengthy epistles of remonstrance or advice to those in power the State might safely neglect; a good, kind-hearted, yielding man, with a strong prepossession in favour of the powers that be in matters civil, and an equally strong prepossession in favour of reform of the powers that be in matters ecclesiastical. He had very little self-confidence. He had an unfailing belief in the wisdom of eminent politicians. He had an earnest desire for Church reform. He had a keen interest in learning, and an exceedingly receptive intellect, but he had very little sound judgment. Probably no prominent Englishmen has ever changed his opinions so frequently as he did. With all his piety and learning he was not the man to guide England through a time of religious reform. The first acts of the new reign showed how thoroughly the power was now in the hands of the State. First the bishops were required to take out licences from the Crown to exercise their jurisdiction, as if they were officials of the State. Even Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall did not hesitate to do so. The Protector took for himself the lands of the abbey of Reading, and was only prevented from destroying Westminster abbey by an enormous bribe. He attempted to destroy the church of S. Margaret, Westminster, to make a site for a palace, and when that was prevented he destroyed other church buildings for the same object. When the chief ruler of the kingdom was thus recklessly enriching himself, it was a time of licence for all who wished to make a disturbance. The Council, which cared little for religious order, was yet obliged to put out a notice for the preservation of old rules 'without innovation, alteration, or contempt of anything that by the laws of our late sovereign lord is prescribed.'

Cranmer.

Violent measures.

With the wholesome distrust of images which was common among serious thinkers of the time, Dr. Ridley, Cranmer's chaplain, suggested their demolition as tending to idolatry ; but the carrying out of this by means of a royal Visitation and royal Injunctions, led to a deplorable destruction of artistic beauties which had survived through centuries, and grown with the growth of the ancient Church of England. No torches or candles were to be set before any image or picture, 'but only two lights upon the high-altar before the Sacrament ; which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still.' At the same time all 'pictures and paintings' were ordered to be destroyed, which led to the mutilation or destruction of frescoes and painted glass which no modern art has ever been able to replace. Two bishops, both of whom had been strong supporters of Henry VIII.'s national reformation, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were committed to prison for resisting these acts as illegal. Gardiner was released, but was again imprisoned when he preached against the unconstitutional acts of the Government. He was deprived of his see in 1550 ; and Bonner, who had also been released, was similarly treated for a similar offence. The violence shown by those in authority encouraged the rough folk among the poor, and riots and fightings were common in many parts of England.

It was under these circumstances and under such influences that legislation was passed which had an important effect on the progress of the English Reformation. In 1547 Convocation agreed that the Holy Communion should be given to all communicants in both kinds. This was confirmed by statute in the same year, and thus became the law of the land. The Act declared that the Blessed Sacrament had been of late marvellously abused by men, 'who of wickedness, or else of ignorance or want of learning, for certain abuses heretofore committed of some, in misusing thereof, have condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and contemptuously depraved, despised, or reviled the same most holy and blessed Sacrament' in sermons and disputations, and even in plays and jests. For such, imprisonment was ordered. The 'said most blessed Sacrament' was ordered to be delivered to all the people in both kinds,

Religious legislation.

'except necessity otherwise require.' It was ordered that no person who devoutly and humbly desired communion should be denied 'without lawful cause': thus private confession was no longer required. The Act ended by an express declaration that it was 'not condemning hereby the usage of any Church out of the king's majesty's dominions.'

In the same year the chantries, where prayers and masses were said for the souls of the departed, were dissolved, with all 'fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds,' and their property given to the king. Another Act ordered that in future all bishops should be appointed by letters patent from the crown, thus destroying the ancient right of election. Another repealed all acts (including that of the Six Articles) which created new treasons. In 1548 an office for Holy Communion was set out by royal authority alone. This was partly in Latin, but the latter part, for the communion of the people, was in English. A royal proclamation forbade any innovation in the ceremonies of the Church: but another ordered the removal of all images from the churches. Others forbade the carrying away of church ornaments, the ill-treating of priests, the desecration of churches. It was a time of great disturbance and unsettlement.

But mixed with the disturbances were the signs of a new order. A committee of divines was ordered to prepare a complete English service-book. They had before them not only the old service-books used in England, chief of which were those associated with the name of S. Osmund of Sarum, and the ancient liturgies, particularly those of the East, but also the reformed Roman breviary (daily offices) drawn up by Cardinal Quignonez, and the *Consultatio* compiled by Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, with the assistance of the German reformers. The work which they thus prepared was undertaken in a conservative spirit. This feeling was embodied in the Book of Common Prayer that was now put forth for use in all dioceses. In 1549 was published by royal authority, and claiming (though no formal sanction on the part of Convocation was ever given, and most probably the book was never discussed by the assembled clergy) the authority of 'the learned men of this our realm in their synods and convocations

The First Prayer Book.

provincial,' the Frst Prayer Book of Edward VI. This was largely the work of Cranmer, and almost entirely the composition of Englishmen and from English sources. As we have seen, the old English service-books (particularly those of Sarum) were compared with early liturgies (especially the Eastern liturgies) and with recent Roman and Lutheran revisions of the ancient books. The great aim of the work seems to have been the restoration of Catholic simplicity. Mediæval accretions and complications were swept away. The services, now in English, were made such as all men could understand and follow. 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass' is the title given to the English office for the consecration and administration of the Body and Blood of Christ. This was rearranged from ancient liturgies, but all the prominent features were retained. At the same time it was made clear that 'the popish mass' was regarded as overloaded with superstitions, and that it was the aim of the Church to substitute for the title 'mass,' by which the Holy Sacrament was 'commonly called,' that which would recall to men's minds the essential features of the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood. It was designed to make the whole book one for people as well as priests. With this aim the daily services were compressed into the offices of morning and evening prayer, the Bible was much more freely used, and points of doubtful authority, such as the direct invocation of saints, were omitted. It is quite clear that the compilers wished to retain the immemorial setting of the great Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and that they desired above all things to conform to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the primitive Church. In 1550 the form of ordination to the ministry was also Englished and simplified. The use of the Prayer Book was enforced by the first Act of Uniformity. This was an important precedent in the history of English religion. It contained nothing against lay persons: the penalties were against clergy who should not use the book. This action, though it was new in English history, was a necessary consequence of the changes which had occurred. No less was it in keeping with the custom of the age. Everywhere throughout Europe there was a strong feeling in favour of uniformity,

The first Act of Uniformity.

and in England, even more than elsewhere, it was recognised that the National Church, to be strong against the intrigues of foreign princes, must be firm in unity of belief and worship. And unity of belief, it was believed, could only be secured by uniformity of worship. Then the ancient 'uses' of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, were swept away, and one use for the whole land was authorised and enforced.

Probably it was this demand for uniformity, even more than the novelties of the Book of Common Prayer, which led to insurrections in many parts of England in 1549. These risings were thought to have been partly fomented by some speeches of the Protector which seemed to favour a social revolution. But more strong was the intense conservatism of the English people, their slowness and ignorance, and their dislike to all changes that reached them from above with no motion of their own to bring them about. They were ready enough to throw down the Pope's power: not the smallest sign of popular discontent followed the abolition of the papal jurisdiction. The destruction of the whole system of 'pardons,' pilgrimages, worship of local saints, popular though these last undoubtedly were, was received partly with unquestionable delight, partly with a contented acquiescence. The dissolution of the monasteries, save in parts of the north, was accepted as a necessary reform. The friars and the chantries disappeared without a word of popular complaint. All these steps were demanded at least by considerable sections of the English people, and for all there were reasons patent, even if not fully acceptable, to the popular mind. But the introduction of a new service-book to supersede the time-honoured worship to eye and ear was a different matter. The people, of course, had never studied liturgies; they knew nothing as yet of the reasons for preferring a purer and more primitive form. They could but imperfectly have understood the old Latin services; but they did not understand the reason, though they may have understood the meaning, of the new. Many priests tried to make the change unobserved. Hooper, one of the most prominent of the reforming clergy, thus described the attempt: 'Where they used to celebrate in the morning the Mass of the Apostles, they have now the Communion of the Apostles; where they had the Mass of

Insurrections in favour of the old order.

the Blessed Virgin, they have now the Communion, which they call the Communion of the Virgin. Where they had the principal or High Mass, they now have, as they call it, the High Communion. They still retain their vestments, and the candles before the altar; and although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet they most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed.' But this satisfied the people as little as it satisfied the Protestants. Englishmen, before they understood the new, declared that 'the old is better.' Thus they preferred the dignity, even where it was unintelligible, of the old Latin rite. It seemed to make a clear distinction between life outside and the religious offices within the sacred buildings. English was the language of ordinary life and of amusement, but Latin had for centuries been the language of religion. So the Devonshire rebels demanded 'that the new service should be laid aside, since it is like a Christmas game, and the old service again used with the procession (litany) in Latin.'

The most important of the risings against the changes were those in Devon and Cornwall. In Berkshire and Oxfordshire they were put down with terrible severity. In the eastern counties, where agrarian difficulties were rife, they were for some time successful, but in the end they were suppressed. In Yorkshire, where the rising was against the 'gentlemen' as well as the 'new inventions,' it was soon quelled. In Devon and Cornwall, Lord Russell, one of the new nobles who had grown rich on abbey lands, put down the rising not without brutality. 'Ignorant men of Devon and Cornwall,' wrote Cranmer, in the answer he had made to their demands, 'ye ask ye know not what. Some crafty Papist has devised these articles [of complaint]: you have been seduced by rank Papists and traitors.'

While these rebellions were still proceeding, Parliament had added other important legislation to the Act of Uniformity. The clergy in Convocation had already twice in Edward's reign declared the right of the clergy to marry. Parliament now accepted this, and though stating that it was better for priests and other ministers of God's Church to be celibate, yet abolished all laws against their marriage. Another Act was passed to forbid the eating of flesh on Fridays and Saturdays in Lent, and on all other

appointed fast-days. This showed that the old rules were still considered binding; but the act quaintly spoke of the practice as beneficial to the fish trade.

In 1549 a further royal visitation was held. This was directed to stop the practices referred to by Hooper. More than one communion a day was not allowed, and it was ordered that 'no minister do counterfeit the popish mass.' The lights, ordered in the first injunctions, were now forbidden. A further Act directed the destruction of the old Church service-books.

Before this, Somerset's position was becoming insecure. He had failed in all he had undertaken, he was unpopular, and his avarice was patent to all. Before he fell he pressed on the measures of the extreme reformers. Only those who had a licence were allowed to preach, and the teaching of religion became less than before the Reformation. It is true that a royal commission visited the universities, and that favourers of the Swiss reformation, both Englishmen and foreigners, were now, with Cranmer's approbation, promoted in England. But the sermons and disputations in which their views were expressed were confined to the chief towns, and especially to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and the country districts were but slightly touched by the extreme teachers. Among the many prominent foreigners who came to England and by their writings and conversation much influenced Cranmer, were Peter Martyr, an Italian, who was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Martin Bucer, a German, who was made Divinity Reader at Cambridge, and a Pole named John à Lasco, who was given charge of the foreign communities in London. John Knox also, the great leader of the Scots Reformation, was in England for some time, and had some power among the advisers of change. It seems clear that he was responsible for a notice, based upon a statement of Wyclif's, put out by the Council against the Real Presence in the Holy Communion. But these changes only affected the chief centres of population. They illustrate, however, the vehemence with which the young king took up the theology of the foreign reformers. He was treated to a surfeit of sermons, and most of them taught the same extreme views. One bold preacher there was among the number, whose name

Foreign influence in England.

will always be remembered for his honest defence of truth and right. This was Hugh Latimer, who in his old age preached continually against the sins and corruption of the times. Hooper was a much more bitter and a less directly moral preacher. Edward was obliged to sit for hours listening to men still more violent. He was a delicate boy, and it would hardly be too much to say that he was preached to death.

Hooper in 1550 was appointed to the see of Gloucester, but he refused to wear the episcopal vestments, and eventually he was put in prison. Ridley was made Bishop of London in place of the deprived Bonner. It seems clear that he held the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Communion while he strongly repudiated transubstantiation; but he would have no peace with the visible objects that had been put to superstitious uses. He wished 'a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may now move and turn the simple from the old superstitions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper.' The Council took up his views and issued an order that all altars should be taken away, and 'instead of them a table to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel within every church.' There was no ecclesiastical authority for this, but Cranmer was warmly in favour of it, and most of the bishops consented. It should be observed that though Cranmer's opinions had now undoubtedly set in favour of the most extreme Protestantism, the substitution of the tables for the ancient stone altars touched no matter of faith, but only, as men thought, of superstitious use; and the retaining of the phrase 'commonly called the mass' in the title of the new communion office showed that the service was essentially to the English reformers' minds the same as the old service on which it was based: it was only the 'superstitions of the popish mass' against which they set their faces.

The new bishops.

Extreme measures.

It may be that measures such as these convinced Hooper of the essential Protestantism of the leaders of English religion. At any rate he now emerged from prison and was consecrated in the full episcopal habit. The 'Vestiarian' controversy, so far as he was concerned, was at an end. The archbishop, though he was becoming more and more strongly Protestant,

in no way withdrew from the opinion that heretics should be dealt with by the strong arm of the State. Joan Bocher, in May 1549, suffered as an Anabaptist, denying our Lord's Incarnation. She had been a distributor of Tyndale's Bible and a friend of Anne Ayscough who suffered under Henry VIII., and she bitterly twitted the archbishop with the fact that he had then joined in burning one whose opinions he now accepted.

Cranmer issued a book in 1550 which certainly assumed a strong Protestant position. In a defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament, he attacked the doctrines of 'transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament, and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest.' He was answered by Bishop Stephen Gardiner from his prison. Cranmer now proceeded to carry on the changes still further. It was proposed to alter the Prayer Book. The most scrupulous respect was professed for it; but the foreigners had convinced the archbishop that it did not go far enough. In 1552 a second Act of Parliament was passed which authorised the bishops to proceed against those who 'wilfully and damnably abstained from coming to their parish churches': to this act was attached, before it passed, a new and revised Prayer Book. This was drawn up by a committee of which Cranmer was a prominent member, but it had no ecclesiastical sanction. It was a revision of the First Prayer Book in Protestant direction. The word 'mass' was now omitted altogether, and the ancient vestments were forbidden. Public forms of confession and absolution, which still remain, were added. This, the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI., was authorised by the Act of Uniformity which was passed on April 6, 1552. It was ordered to come into use on All Saints' Day of the same year. It seems probable that it was never put into use, or only in a few places. Scarcely more than six months after it was ordered to be in use, the king died.

Cranmer in controversy.

The Second Prayer Book.

The last two years of Edward's reign were little better than a scramble for riches among the great nobles. Somerset was accused of treason; his acute and unscrupulous rival, Dudley, Earl of Warwick, carried the case against him, and he was beheaded on January 22, 1552. Before this, Tunstall, Bishop

of Durham, a loyal minister of Henry VIII., and a friend of Sir Thomas More, but a stalwart defender of the royal supremacy, was sent to the Tower, and was deprived of his see. It was clear that Warwick, who was now made Duke of Northumberland, coveted the vast territories of the bishopric. In 1553 it was suppressed, and the whole of the lands were given to him, though it was declared that two sees, Newcastle and Durham, would be created to provide for the north. At the same time the lands of many sees were robbed, and the grammar-schools in like manner, though a few were refounded. While these changes were going on, Cranmer pushed on ecclesiastical measures apace. Forty-two articles were drawn up by the same men who drew up the Second Prayer Book; the king ordered that they should be subscribed by the clergy, but they did not receive formal sanction. The canon law was also revised in the book called *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, but the king did not sign it, so it had no legal sanction. On July 6, 1553, the boy-king died. During his reign, the English Church was, by State interference, by the political and religious sympathies of the changeable Cranmer, and by the influx of foreign renegades from Catholicism, led in the direction of extreme Protestantism. But none the less the general feeling of Englishmen was strongly against the extremists. It was found impossible to fill five of the sees that were vacant. Courageous men did not hesitate to speak of the evils of the time. Bernard Gilpin, rector of Houghton-le-Spring in Durham, and known in later years as 'the Apostle of the North,' in a sermon at Greenwich (when the court should have been present) said: 'I know a living of a hundred marks, not to say pounds, that has been sold for a term of ninety-nine years. That living in a godly, learned pastor's hand, might have refreshed five hundred in a year with ghostly food, and all the country round with God's word: and there is need; for in twenty miles' compass there is scarce a man to preach; the boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen cannot say the Lord's Prayer. A thousand pulpits in England,' he added, 'are covered with dust: some have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years, since friars left their limitations.' And all this he charged to the shameless rapacity

Confusion in State and Church.

Bernard Gilpin.

of the lay patrons of livings who sold everything. The bishops even were as careless now, he declared, in ordaining unfit men as they were before the Reformation. The testimony of such a man as Bernard Gilpin—and it was supported by the bold Bishop Latimer—is not lightly to be set aside. He was one whose first thought was the work of Christ. When questioned concerning his belief he replied: 'I am of the Catholic faith, and the Catholic faith changeth not. But in this point of transubstantiation I see alterations, but these are alterations of later men, whereas the Catholic religion abhorreth invented alterations in matters of faith.'

On Edward's death-bed a startling change was made. The king declared to the judges that he was resolved that the crown should not go to his sister Mary (the daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon), for she would 'alter religion.' She was a Romanist, and the persecution of her mother had made her cling more closely to the obedience of the Pope. Elizabeth, Anne Bullen's daughter, it would seem that Edward distrusted. She had been mixed up discreditably with his uncle, Lord Seymour, whose execution for treason had been one of the worst acts of his brother the Protector, earlier in the reign. The king accordingly induced the judges to consent to his exercising the power given to his father of bequeathing the crown by will; and he left it to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of Henry VIII.'s sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk. She had recently married Lord Guilford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland. So it was that the strongest and worst of the greedy crew who surrounded the king's death-bed thought to place the crown on his son's head. No one could have been better fitted than Jane to carry out the views of Northumberland and to place him in power as the permanent minister of a Protestant queen. A 'noble and worthy lady' she was, very pious and very simple, a lover of good books and good men, easily to be guided, and very quiet and sincere in her religion. One of the most beautiful pictures of the life of the time is that which her teacher, Roger Ascham, draws of her as he last saw her, before she was called to the perils of State, sitting in her room reading Plato's *Phaedo* while her kindred were a-hunting in the park. 'I know all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that I find in Plato,' she said. 'Alas! good

Jane the Queen.

folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' In her, Northumberland thought that he could find a puppet who would do his will; but so soon as the king died, his mistake was patent. For a few days the plot was carried out; and then the loyalty of Englishmen, standing to the old order of the State, and utterly distrusting the men who had ruled the land under Edward, gave the crown to Mary, the lawful heir. Edward died on July 6, 1553. Mary entered London in triumph on August 3 with her sister. On February 12, 1554, Lady Jane Grey was beheaded. Her husband suffered with her. Her father-in-law had gone before to the block.

Edward's death, and the brief reign of his cousin, 'Jane the Queen,' mark the critical period of the English movement for reform. The power of the State was in the hands of extreme and utterly unprincipled Protestants, and there was every sign of desire to break completely with the historic past of the Church.

The crisis.

Mary, it could not be doubted, would restore the Roman power: yet she professed to begin mildly. She assured the Corporation of London that 'albeit her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meant not to compel or strain men's consciences otherwise than God should, as she trusted, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth she is in, though the opening of His word unto them by godly and virtuous and learned preachers'—strange prelude to a reign of bitter persecution. Ridley, Bishop of London, had preached in favour of Queen Jane. He was at once arrested and put in the Tower. Cranmer had been one of the Council who assented to her proclamation. He now welcomed Mary and declared that he was most assuredly persuaded that her intention was 'to prefer God's true word, His honour and glory,' though he well knew what were her opinions on the Church, the Pope, and the Eucharist.

Accession of Mary.

From the first it was seen that Queen Mary would rule with all the autocratic power of her father. She gave licence to preachers as 'by the Grace of God, supreme head of the Church of England.' It was by the exercise of the royal supremacy, and by no Church law, that she now deposed the bishops consecrated during her brother's reign. By the same power, the clergy who had married wives, though their marriages were authorised by

lawful authority both in Church and State, were expelled from their livings or separated from their wives, and ordered to do penance, being then rarely restored to their cures. The queen issued injunctions to the clergy embodying her views. The bishops who had been deprived under Edward VI. were now restored to their sees. Parliament passed an Act restoring 'such divine service and administration of the sacraments which were most commonly used in England in the last year of King Henry VIII.' The next step was reunion with Rome.

Reunion with Rome.

Bishop Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, spoke of the need for reunion at the opening of Parliament, and admitted his own share in the separation under Henry VIII. The acts relating to religion passed in the late reign were repealed. Steadily all over England the old services were restored. This was by no means always with public favour. In 1553 a tailor was brought before the Council for 'shaving a dog in despite of priesthood,' and next year a cat was found hanging in Cheapside with her head shorn and the likeness of a vestment cast over her. The preacher at S. Paul's Cross was fired at in June 1554. On Easter Day 1555, the priest who ministered the Blessed Sacrament at S. Paul's was attacked by one who had been a monk at Ely, and on Lady Day of the same year, when the Latin litany was again sung in the streets, says a chronicler, 'there was delivered a pudding unto one of the prebends going in procession.' The unpopularity of the changes grew when they became more patent. Public disputations were held when Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were borne down by the clamour of their opponents. On July 25, 1554, Mary married Philip of Spain, one of the greatest princes in Europe, a Catholic of the strictest, and a man of cold, haughty temper, who became himself, and for his followers, heartily disliked in England. Reginald Pole, whom Henry VIII. would willingly have killed, now a cardinal and legate of the Pope, arrived in England in November 1554 and addressed Parliament on the need of a reconciliation with Rome. This was agreed to, and all statutes made 'against the see apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII.' (1529) were repealed. Convocation petitioned Pole to restore the ancient jurisdiction. They and the Parliament received his absolution.

The chief bishops, including Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were declared guilty of heresy as well as treason, and held in prison. The old statutes against the Lollards were revived, but the monasteries were not restored, and an Act of Parliament confirmed their confiscated property to its possessors. This important confirmation, agreed to by a Romanist queen, preserved the Government from the social discontent which would otherwise certainly have arisen. It showed also that the days of monastic usefulness were now admitted by all parties in England to be over. By 1555, the work of Henry VIII.'s reformation, save only as regards the monasteries and the assumption of very considerable powers of ecclesiastical supremacy by the crown, was undone. 'The claims to administer the affairs of the Church, to be the chief ordinary of the Church, and to be the source of jurisdiction in the Church were unknown to the law and the constitution in the Middle Ages, and were given up by Mary and never again claimed, though part of the authority which was connected with them lasted on till 1641.' Mary set up a Court to carry out the ecclesiastical laws, but otherwise she did not directly interfere with the powers of the Convocations or Parliament.

The re-establishment of the Roman power was followed by a persecution which has made Mary's reign infamous in English history. Neither Pole nor Gardiner were in favour of it, but Mary had all the Tudor indifference to bloodshed, and she was determined to restore the mediæval beliefs. Without the slightest political ground, and mainly for rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, more than two hundred and eighty persons were burned in sixteen English dioceses. Of these four were bishops, Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer. In Wales, Bishop Ferrar of S. David's also perished at the stake. The first to suffer on February 4, 1555, was Rogers, prebendary of S. Paul's: Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was burned four days later. Both suffered chiefly for their rejection of the Pope, but the majority stood most of all for the great principles of the English Reformation and the English Prayer Book—'the prayers, the Scriptures in English, the Communion.' In the doctrine of the Eucharist, most, except the more ignorant, made their objection to the material, not the spiritual, doctrine of the Presence. Ridley

The persecution.

and Latimer were burned at Oxford on October 16, 1555. The last words of the latter long rang in Englishmen's ears, and were triumphantly vindicated within three years by the abolition of the papal supremacy for ever. 'Be of good cheer, Master Ridley,' he said, 'and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out.' Cranmer was condemned by the Pope. He had apparently now become clearly Zwinglian in his views, but he was still far from firm. He recanted many of his opinions in no less than six documents; but at length, on March 21, 1556, he was burned at Oxford. At the last he retracted his recantations, declared that he believed that our Saviour, Jesus Christ, is really and substantially contained in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine. 'As for the Pope,' he ended, 'I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrines.'

He was succeeded by Cardinal Pole, in spite of whose mildness of disposition the burnings went on. Besides the prominent men who suffered, many fanatics and ultra-Protestants died for their faith, men such as the other Reformers endeavoured to the last to convert. However little the majority of Englishmen sympathised with their opinions, there was but one feeling as to the cruelty of their punishment. In the last year of her life Mary had contrived to alienate every friend. She was at issue with the Pope, who withdrew the legation from Pole because of her support of Spain, now hostile to the Papacy, and she refused to allow any intercourse with Rome. Her husband left her to die alone. Her people even prayed for her death, that the persecution might cease. On November 17, 1558, she passed away, and the next day Pole died also.

The Scots Church in the fifteenth century.

While England had thus been passing through a half-century of reformation and reaction, in Scotland also religious changes of the gravest issue had been carried out. The fatal field of Flodden had ended, it might seem, the independence of the north. Henry VIII. wrote to Pope Leo X. as if he were conqueror of the whole land, and demanding that the Scots sees should be definitely placed under the archiepiscopate of York, but no definite decision was given, and before long it became impossible to enforce the claim. During the minority of James V., and not less on his assuming power, the

worst abuses of the Church were continued, the sale of offices, corrupt appointments through pope and king, gross immorality and neglect of duty, were unchecked in spite of the efforts of Church councils. Two prelates, whose lives were typical of the position assumed by Scots ecclesiastics at this period, came into prominence early in James v.'s reign, David Beaton, nephew of the vigorous Archbishop of S. Andrews, and John Hamilton. In 1522 James Beaton became Archbishop of S. Andrews. Six years later the first Lutheran preacher, Patrick Hamilton, who held the abbey of Ferne, was burned for heresy. The martyrdom caused the greatest indignation, and the primate was advised to burn no more heretics as the smoke of Patrick Hamilton had infected all on whom it blew. But none the less many were burned and many more imprisoned. It was an ill way to check heresy, when abuses continued and increased. James v., like his predecessors, did not hesitate to seek preferment for his unlawful sons : and he obtained it. In 1538 he petitioned that David Beaton should be made a cardinal. It was granted ; and in the same year he succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of S. Andrews. He combined with these honours the chancellorship of the kingdom and the Pope's legation. Able and not wholly scrupulous in politics, in private life he was immoral and corrupt. He did nothing, as he might have done, to reform the Church, and evil deeds went on. As the reformers' writings spread to Scotland they were eagerly received by the people and by many members of the religious orders. The learned men, and chiefly George Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay, lampooned the clergy and 'branded the vices of the age.'

The influence of foreign reformers.

In 1541 Parliament itself took up the complaint against the clergy, and passed an act for 'reforming the kirks and kirkmen.' But such legislation was absolutely inoperative. The king's death, December 13, 1542, of shame and despair, after a skirmish in which the Scots had been defeated, left the crown to a babe. Her mother was a Frenchwoman, Mary of Guise, whose regency brought upon the land a series of disasters.

In the first year of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, which began when she was but six days old, political changes of great importance occurred. Cardinal Beaton was imprisoned : then

again he came into power: then he struggled with the Archbishop of Glasgow for the right to carry his cross within the southern province. Four years later he caused the apprehension of a reformer, George Wishart, who was much beloved, and had him burned outside his castle. A few months later he was assassinated at the instigation of the nobles and with the secret encouragement of Henry VIII.

Wishart.

From the death of Beaton the Scottish Reformation really began. With a Government absolutely unconcerned in the religious welfare of the nation, with nobles selfish and irreligious, and eager to oust the prelates from the State offices which they had largely engrossed, and to seize the lands of the Church and the wealth of the monasteries, with active and energetic preachers of Lutheranism, the movement spread under the most favourable conditions. Two special features were prominent from the first in the Scots Reformation, and though they pervade the whole history of the time, they claim to be mentioned before any sketch of events is given. The first is the unfaithfulness of the old Church to her great mission. To this more than anything else the Reformation was due. Corruption and indolence, almost inconceivable even when we read the evidence of contemporary Catholic authorities, were the causes which led to the inevitable destruction. Up till the eve of the Reformation the scandalous lives of the clergy were reprobated by constant councils, but never amended; and when it was too late to save the Church, Jesuit observers noted that the lethargy which affected the higher clergy was still undisturbed. The chief posts in the Church were used for the support of the greater families of Scotland, with an almost total disregard of spiritual obligations.

Beginning of the Reformation in Scotland.

Its characteristics.

'They covet these ample revenues,' wrote John Major, a prominent man of letters, 'not for the good help that they thence might render to their brethren, but solely for the high position that these places offer, that they may have the direction of them, and out of them may have the chance to fill their own pockets. Like bats, by chink or cranny, when the daylight dies, they will enter the holy places to suck the oil from out of the lamps, and under a wicked head all the members lead an evil life, according to the proverb, "when the head is sick, the other members are in pain."'

The character of many of the clergy was notorious. The loyal laity themselves complained of it as the head and front of the Church's offence. Mary Queen of Scots herself bitterly commented on the morals of Archbishop Hamilton. A religious Episcopate might have saved the Church. The Reformers, whatever their faults, made a courageous and genuine attempt to purify Scottish morals. The rigidity of their discipline was the admiration, or the terror, of Europe. Of its effects there may be two opinions, but of its necessity there is not the shadow of a doubt. The pity of it is that the blind Romanising of the National Church had severed it so completely, save in its corruptest aspects, from the national life, and that the necessary discipline could not be introduced under the guidance of the Catholic Society.

And secondly, the popular aspect of the Reformation in Scotland must not be forgotten. There, perhaps, even more than anywhere else in Europe, the wild iconoclasm of utterly irreligious mobs had full play. Churches were everywhere destroyed and their goods spoiled. 'In these blind outbursts,' it has been very truly said, 'there was no expression of real religious feeling; it was simply the instinct of plunder, the natural delight in unlicensed action which in ordinary times is kept in check by the steady pressure of law.' Thus at Perth mobs destroyed almost every vestige of the ancient religion, and at Dundee and S. Andrews similar work was done. And in the end the chief profit of the Reformation came to the great lords, who shamefully spoiled the Church and took to themselves the endowments which Knox had looked for to support a 'godly ministry.' The Scottish Reformation is a terrible tragedy. That it gave to the country a magnificent system of education, that it enormously strengthened the nobler features of national character, that it impressed on the people a genuine type of somewhat dour piety there can be no doubt; but it is difficult to estimate the cost of the movement in much that belongs to the beauty and sanctity of human life.

The murder of Cardinal Beaton was connected in all men's minds with the executions for heresy in which he had been prominent, and the blows which struck him down were levelled at the ancient Church of which he was an unworthy minister. 'I am

a priest, ye will not slay me,' he cried when his murderers came upon him, but they answered by bidding him think of the slaughter of 'that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart.'

The work which George Wishart might have done fell into the hands of a far greater man. This was John Knox. He was born in 1505, studied under Major at Glasgow, and was ordained priest. He fell, when he was nearly forty years old, under the influence of Wishart, and from him he learnt the opinions of the extremest reformers. He threw himself into the new teaching with the utmost enthusiasm, and when Wishart was burned he warmly supported those who slew the great cardinal. He identified himself with the assassins, but, as he thought, only that he might preach the Gospel. In the old church of S. Andrews he took up the calling of a preacher of the new faith, and from that moment the fate of Popery in Scotland was certain. 'Others,' said those who heard him, 'hewed the branches of the Papistry, but he struck at the root.'

John Knox.

John Knox was no faultless saint. He was a man of strong passions and an indomitable faculty for self-assertion ; his physical vigour when he was engaged in religious work was to the last extraordinary. James Melville's words, where he speaks of Knox's last days at S. Andrews, when the preacher had to be lifted up by two men into the pulpit, give a vivid picture of that wonderful power which he retained to the last.

'He behoved to lean at his first entry, but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding that pulpit in blads (knock it to pieces) and fly out of it.'

Behind his physical vigour was a resistless sense of personal assurance. He never ceased to regard himself as absolutely right in his teaching, and, indeed, as not rarely in possession of a direct revelation of the secret counsels of God. But behind all this there was much inconsistency, a talent for diplomacy which was far from the straightforward simplicity of the Gospel, and withal a practical *bonhomie* and conviviality which sits somewhat strangely on him, reminding us at times of Luther, whom he otherwise so little resembled, but which certainly accounted largely for his influence among the leaders of the congregations.

It was not John Knox who made the Reformation in Scotland, or who gave it success, but it was he who by his genuine religious feeling, piety, and zeal stamped on it its religious character, and thus founded its influence on the nation which endures to-day. 'Here lies one,' said Morton, the Regent, 'who neither flattered nor feared any flesh.' It is, perhaps, the last word on the great Reformer, as it was the first, and it goes a long way to explain the history of his country in the days of her revolution.

The Reformation in Scotland is perhaps best described by a biography of its great leader. It depended, as the Reformation in England never did, upon the personality of one great man, whose inspiring genius gave it the form which it assumed. It began without him : it was successful, not through his efforts, but through political circumstances ; but none the less the Scottish Reformation is indissolubly linked to the name of John Knox. It was he who gave to the new religion its abstract character, its rigid dogma, its intellectual precision. Religion with the Scottish reformers was a system to be studied even more than a life to be lived. In Knox himself the life was as vigorous as the dogmatic assertion, but in the hands of his followers the precise system of Calvin lost none of its inflexible rigidity.

The facts of Knox's life and of the Scots Reformation can be briefly told. After Beaton's murder those who, in the quaint phrase of a contemporary, 'suspected themselves to be guilty of the said slaughter,' held together in the castle of S. Andrews. They were compelled to surrender to the French forces who came to the support of the Regent, the Earl of Arran, and then from August 1547 to February 1549 John was a galley-slave. Released through the intervention of the Protector Somerset, he came to England and acted as one of the chaplains to Edward VI., where his influence probably caused the addition by the Council of the 'black rubric' to the Second Prayer Book. His voice was among the many harsh notes which reached the dying ears of the unhappy child. He, like Latimer, protested against the 'crafty, covetous, wicked and ungodly counsellors' who brought the Protestant faith into discredit by their evil lives. It was in the years that followed Edward's death that Knox went to Geneva and learned from Calvin, the great master of Protestant

Knox's earlier career.

logic, the system which his own vehement energy was to impress for centuries upon the Scottish Kirk.

Meanwhile the Reformation had been making steady progress in Scotland. The Marian persecution sent many new teachers across the border. In 1547 John Hamilton became primate: two years later he was enthroned at S. Andrews. He set himself to stave off, or at least to direct, the threatened changes. In a provincial council he caused canons to be passed, which reveal a frightful condition of wickedness among those for whom they were drawn up. Prelates and clergy are warned to amend their lives: heretics are admonished: rules for divine service are set forth. The result was the issue of a Catechism, for use by all the Scots clergy, which was the work of Archbishop Hamilton himself, and was published in 1552. This notable book set forth a system of Christian instruction based upon the ancient teaching of the Church, orthodox, complete, pious; but no mention whatever is made of the Roman see or the Pope. The need of unity is emphasised, but not a word is said of the primacy of Rome. The Church is declared to be taught through the Holy Scriptures by general councils, the powers of the bishops as successors of the apostles, are explained; but it is added: 'As for other orders and dignities of the Kirk, we think them not necessary to be expounded to you, because the knowledge of them makes not mickle to your edification.' On the doctrine of the Holy Communion also much mediæval doctrine is laid aside. Such a system, taught with charity in days of peace, and graced by the holy lives of its teachers, might have saved to Scotland the fabric of her ancient Church. But in a time of turmoil and political profligacy, of corruption among the clergy, and when there was at hand a great leader filled with keen sympathy for the poor folk whose souls were unfed, and with a narrow and enthusiastic agreement with the teaching of the most extreme foreign reformers, there was no possible issue but the destruction of the old Church and the raising up of a new body in its place. The people were ready to follow Knox. Everywhere they 'lightlied the mass,' ceased to attend the services of the Church, and openly disregarded Sunday. The nobles were eager to break down and destroy and to enter on the spoil. So long as Henry VIII. lived the Scots reformers

Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, 1552.

might have received assistance from him, and many of the nobles were ready to sell their country into his hands. But when he died, the political difficulties between the nations helped to keep their religious leaders apart, and Knox returned to his own land, more determined than ever on a work of destruction. Reforms like those of Archbishop Hamilton's were too late. The Catechism and the canons were admirable in themselves. But such measures were in vain in the face of a determined Protestant party, powerful nobles, a weak if not wicked queen, and, most of all, the evil lives of those who themselves should have led the movement for reform.

In 1555 Knox returned to Scotland. He received an enthusiastic welcome in Edinburgh. He preached throughout the country, and was everywhere heard by crowds. The Regent endeavoured to suppress him: it was impossible. Politics came to the aid of religion. The leaders of the reforming party among the nobles bound themselves together by a covenant and became known as 'the lords of the congregation.' In 1558 Knox published, without his own name, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment* (*i.e.* rule) *of Women*. It was a bitter attack on the government of Mary Tudor and of Mary, the Regent for her daughter, the Queen of Scots. It declared war on the established rule; but in a few months its chief significance disappeared, for Elizabeth succeeded Mary on the English throne, and it was to her that the Scots reformers looked most for assistance. From 1556 Knox was again absent from Scotland. In 1559 he returned; but Elizabeth, justly enraged at his insult to her sex, would not let him pass through England. Tell that 'infirm vessel,' he wrote to her minister Cecil, that only by 'humility and dejection of herself before God' can her throne be made secure. When he reached Scotland he found the country almost in civil war. The Protestant preachers had been 'put to the horn' (*i.e.* outlawed), and the populace of Perth had risen and destroyed the churches and commanded the priests 'under pain of death to desist from their blasphemous mass.' Archbishop Hamilton in a scornful message to the Protestant lords forbade Knox to preach: 'if they suffered him, twelve hackbuts should light

Knox's return.

'The First Blast of the Trumpet.'

upon his nose at once.' But Knox preached none the less, and then the people purged S. Andrews of 'idolatry,' destroying everywhere the relics, the shrines, and the emblems of the crucified Saviour of the world.

Civil war broke out, and fortune changed from side to side. In July 1559 the Regent entered Edinburgh in triumph. Knox humbled himself to ask the aid of Elizabeth, but she paid more heed to the diplomatist Maitland of Lethington, and the unlawful son of the late king, Lord James Stewart, Earl of Moray. In April 1560 an English army came to the help of the Scots rebels. On June 10 the Regent died, Her weakness, her refusal of the alliance of the Earl of Arran, who had been Regent before her, and his brother, Archbishop Hamilton, her reliance on French forces, had made certain the triumph of the Protestants. On July 6 a treaty was signed which practically gave Scotland into the hands of the 'lords of the congregation.'

Triumph of the Protestants.

Parliament, under their influence and fired by the oratory of John Knox, destroyed at one blow all the privileges, the worship, and the wealth of the Church. 'On the morning of the 25th of August 1560 the hierarchy was supreme, in the evening of the same day Calvinistic Protestantism was established in its stead.'

The destruction of the Church was accompanied by more lawlessness than was shown in any other land where Protestantism made its way. Everywhere the churches were robbed and the monasteries destroyed. 'Down with the crows' nests,' Knox is said to have cried, 'or the crows will build in them again.' It is impossible to estimate the amount of the destruction of fine buildings and beautiful works of art. The brutality of the people and the greed of the nobles turned what might have been a work of reform into a wholesale destruction.

The Scottish Reformation established itself through violence, treason, and civil war. Mary Queen of Scots, never deserting the Roman obedience, had to steer her course between political and religious rivalries of the most dangerous kind. On August 19, 1561, she returned, now a widow, from France, to take up her kingdom. She clung to every shred of power, but the nobles tore all from her. She tried every scheme of concession or of stubbornness

to save the essentials of the Church, but she was helpless in the face of Knox, who 'neither flattered nor feared any flesh.'

Gradually Knox built up a new policy, of the strictest Calvinistic sort. Holy orders were replaced by a 'call' from a congregation and admission to office by the neighbouring minister. The laying on of hands was declared unnecessary. Stern discipline was set up to reform the morals of the people and to punish ministers, 'the eyes and mouth of the Kirk.' Schools were founded and endowed, and the new clergy were given possession of the churches of those who refused to accept the Book of Discipline and the Book of Common Order. But the endowments of the parishes were lost, and the ministers of the new 'Kirk' had hardly enough to support life.

Establishment of Calvinism.

From the day when Mary Queen of Scots returned to her native land, the history of the religious development of the nation became merged in a conflict between her subtle, fascinating personality and the iron will of Knox.

In the strange history of these troublous years there are no more striking episodes than the interviews between the bitterly intolerant preacher of righteousness and the reckless child of the Renaissance. Strange, indeed, must have been the scenes in which Knox relentlessly preached his savage creed, while Mary's 'secret chalmer boy could scarce get napkins to hold her eyes dry for the tears; and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech;' and 'howling was heard,' says Knox grimly, 'and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required.'

'He was as content,' he said, 'to live under her grace as was Paul to live under Nero': it was a strange greeting in their first interview, and he was unyielding to the end. The worship of the ancient Church was utterly forbidden, even the queen's own service in the chapel of Holyrood Palace was attacked by a mob. In the spring of 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and thus alienated Elizabeth, who dreaded the claims of the Scots queen to the English throne. The marriage gave for a time such strength to the throne that it seemed as if the Reformation was in danger of being suppressed. But the plots of the queen's foreign secretary, Rizzio, leading to a reunion with Rome, ruined all. He was murdered on March 9, 1566. Mary,

Mary Queen of Scots.

disgusted with her young husband who was concerned in the crime, threw herself under the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, who, while professing to be a Protestant, worked always for the other side. For the time the 'lords of the congregation' were in flight, and Knox himself went to seek help from England. Mary restored the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of S. Andrews. On February 10, 1567, Darnley was murdered. The Archbishop of S. Andrews declared that the marriage of Bothwell was null and void, and on June 15 the queen married the man whom every one took to be the murderer of her former husband. The nobles, Catholic and Protestant alike, rose against this unholy alliance, and from June 16 Mary was a prisoner in Lochleven Castle. A new Government was set up which was entirely in sympathy with Knox. The queen was deposed: her child James was crowned king, and Knox preached a sermon at the crowning: the Earl of Moray was made Regent, and in him the Protestants trusted. In 1568 Mary escaped, and three-fourths of the nobles joined her standard; but within a fortnight Moray triumphed, and soon the former queen was an exile in England, the prisoner of Elizabeth. But even then the Government, on whom Protestantism seemed to depend, was not safe. On January 23, 1570, Moray was assassinated, and the new rulers seemed to be reckless, 'cut-throats,' and 'men without God.' Knox went on preaching to the end, but when he died on November 24, 1572, the land was a prey to treachery, faction, and civil war. But his work was done. Presbyterianism in its essential features was established, and the iron system of Calvinistic belief was bound on the shoulders of the Scottish people.

Death of Knox.

The difference between the English Reformation and the Scottish is easy to discern. The former was undertaken by men who disclaimed all intention of breaking the unity of Christ's Church, and who deliberately rejected the most prominent characteristics of foreign Protestantism. The latter was, avowedly, irreconcilably hostile to Catholicism. As late as 1567 Elizabeth proposed to Mary that the Church in Scotland should be established on the same lines as the English Church. But it was impossible. Scotland had for centuries in Church matters been alike papal and corrupt, and at the same time there had been no national protests

against the Papacy. In England a long chain of anti-Roman legislation showed the feeling of the laity, and many protests testified to the same sentiment among the clergy. The English Church and State alike were ready for a separation from Rome, but neither desired that the National Church should be destroyed. In England the people were friendly to the clergy : in Scotland the two were deadly foes. In England the Reformation was the work of many classes and many minds : in Scotland it practically depended entirely upon the greedy nobles and on one commanding religious leader with his followers. In England, Church and Crown held together : in Scotland, the sovereign and the national religion went different ways.

If the chief mark of the English Reformation was its conservatism, and of the Scottish its Protestantism, the Church in Wales was reformed chiefly by robbery. The nationality of the people was ignored. Henry VIII.'s rejection of Rome was accepted without demur, and English bishops under that king and his son familiarised the people with the changes that were most patent. But chief of all results was the practical disendowment of the Welsh Church. The monasteries had engrossed the revenues of the parishes more than in England, and these revenues were now transferred almost entirely to lay owners. The Welsh monasteries were far more numerous in proportion than the English, and the loss in spiritual provision, as well as in actual buildings used for sacred purposes, was proportionately greater. In the diocese of S. David's, the whole of the tithes enjoyed by the monasteries, an enormous sum, was lost to the Welsh Church. At the period of the Reformation the Welsh sees were held either by persons of doubtful character employed in politics (as Bishop Rawlins of S. David's) or by insignificant ecclesiastics, or by those who were rapidly transferred to other posts. The Reformation gave to Wales no new sees and no new endowments. Bishop Ferrar of St. David's had the strange fate of being imprisoned by Somerset, and burned as a heretic by Queen Mary. Bishop Richard Davies, 1561, procured the translation of the Bible into Welsh. Most of the bishops were insignificant. But two Welsh bishops stand out as being instruments of the preservation of Catholic continuity. It was Bishop Barlow, who had been

The Church in Wales.

consecrated to S. David's in 1536 according to the old English (Sarum) rite, who was the chief consecrator of Archbishop Parker in 1559. And Anthony Kitchin, consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1545, retained his see through all the changes till his death in 1563. Thus Barlow is a prominent example of the continuity of the apostolic succession in the English Church, and Kitchin of the maintenance of canonical jurisdiction.

From Wales we return to England at the death of Mary. With the accession of Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Bullen, the country returned with a bound to the freedom which the struggles of the earlier days of the Reformation had won.

There was never any doubt as to what would happen at Mary's death. The whole land joyfully welcomed Elizabeth, King Henry's only surviving child, who was already trusted for her sagacity and moderation. Her work was clearly set before her. It was the completion of the long movement for ecclesiastical reform. That movement in its essential features may thus be summed up :—(1) Under Henry VIII. the nation had repudiated the papal supremacy. (2) Under Edward VI. common prayer and celebration of the sacraments in English had been won, as well as the liberty of the clergy to marry. (3) Under Mary the abolition, for those days, of the monasteries which had engrossed so much of the parochial endowments, was legally confirmed. (4) It remained for Elizabeth to procure the settlement of the Church in her national independence.

Accession of Elizabeth.

Under Elizabeth the long movement of the Reformation reached its most important crisis. She was determined to have a National Church in a National State, and in this determination she had the vast majority of her people with her. She declared that she would rule with the power of supreme governor of the Church of England, and that she meant by that phrase, 'the authority under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, of what estate, ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.'

Her work.

Theologically, Elizabeth, who was both a learned scholar and an acute thinker, was certainly not a Protestant in the sense of believing Lutheran opinions, and had seemed to her sister Mary to

have accepted Roman doctrines. It is said that when she was asked about the Sacrament she answered :

> 'Christ was the Word that spake it,
> He took the bread and brake it ;
> And what His Words did make it,
> That I believe and take it.'

This plain teaching of the Church she was determined to uphold. Vacillating in her policy and careless often in matters of morals, she had none the less a clear and convinced position in matters of religion. She was determined that the Church should be national, in sympathy with the teaching of the primitive and universal Church, and therefore Protestant against the errors of Rome. How these three characteristics of the Church should be emphasised, the history of her long reign was to show. But from the first it must be noticed that her work was done in the midst of great weakness. England under Mary had sunk lower than she had been since the days of John. Calais, the last English possession in France, was lost : abroad there was 'steadfast enmity but no steadfast friendship,' at home there were fears more dangerous than open war.

Elizabeth's first thought was to secure the national freedom in religion. 'It was important,' she knew, 'that the papal jurisdiction should be definitely ended, and that, at the same time, the framework of the Church should be retained.' She was crowned according to the old ceremonial : she attended the Latin mass : but the bishops of Mary's time suspected her. Heath, the Archbishop of York, refused to crown her, and Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, officiated instead. A committee was appointed to revise the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. The queen put out a proclamation charging that no teaching should be given but that of the Epistles and Gospels and the Ten Commandments in English, and that the Litany, Lord's Prayer, and Creed should be said also in the vulgar tongue. Then Parliament restored the ancient jurisdiction of the crown by passing the Supremacy Act. The title assumed by Elizabeth was not that of her father, 'supreme head,' but 'supreme governor as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as temporal.' By the same Act the crown was empowered to nominate commissioners to

National freedom.

exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and the Court of High Commission came into existence in July 1559. The heresy law of Mary was repealed, and the limits of what could be called heresy were strictly and wisely defined. Before the act was passed a disputation was held in Westminster Abbey between the bishops and some representatives of the 'new learning.' It was broken off without conclusion. The committee for revision of the Prayer Book issued its report. The book was revised, and the Act of Uniformity (1559) enforced its use throughout the country

Reissue of the Prayer Book.

The Prayer Book of 1552 was revised. The changes, though few, were significant ; they all looked in favour of making plain the ancient teaching of the Church as to the Presence in the Holy Communion. The 'black rubric' was omitted. The direction was added, that 'the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI.' Thus the ecclesiastical settlement was made. It remains to this day. In the same injunctions in which she explained her supremacy, Elizabeth ordered, that though priests and ministers might lawfully marry, they should not do so without the advice and allowance of the bishop of the diocese and two justices of the peace ; and that whenever the Name of Jesus should be said in church, 'due reverence be made.' There was no order for the destruction of images, but they were not to be 'extolled.' At the very beginning of the reign some of the Marian altars had been taken down ; it was observed that whether there should be stone altar or wooden table was 'no matter of great moment,

The holy tables.

so that the sacrament be duly and reverently ministered,' but that no altar should be removed without the oversight of the curate [parish priest] and churchwardens, that the holy table should remain where the altar stood, but that at the time of communion it should be placed 'in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard by the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister.'

The settlement complete, it remained to enforce it on those

who preferred the Marian order. These were very few. The bishops who had been appointed in Mary's reign, many of them to sees which had lawful bishops, were deprived when they refused to take the oath of supremacy. Then the bishops who had been unlawfully turned out returned to their sees. There were at the moment an unusual number of vacancies due to death: to these were added those due to deprivation. The death of Pole made it necessary at once to fill up the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Matthew Parker, a wise and learned man, who had at one time been chaplain to Anne Bullen and Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and who had been obliged to live in seclusion during Mary's reign, seemed to Elizabeth and to her minister Cecil to be the moderate and prudent guide whom the Church needed. With difficulty he was prevailed on to accept the office. After being canonically elected by the chapter, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on December 17, 1559, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, by Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Scory, Bishop of Chichester; Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; and Hodgkin, Suffragan-Bishop of Thetford. The first two of these had themselves been consecrated under Henry VIII., the others under Edward VI. Thus, as Pole had been lawfully consecrated to succeed Cranmer, Parker was lawfully consecrated to succeed Pole, the vacancies having occurred in each case by death. The form of consecration used was English, but taken directly from the pontifical (or office-book for consecration of bishops) used before the Reformation.

Consecration of Parker.

Parker, after his consecration, consecrated eleven bishops to the vacant sees. The bishops, as Cecil showed, when putting the position of England in relation to the Papacy before the Pope's nuncio, were 'apostolically ordained and not merely elected by the congregation like Lutheran or Calvinistic heretics.' From the bishops the oath of supremacy came to the parish clergy. Commissions went all over England to offer the oath to all the clergy. Though a great number of the clergy had been appointed under Mary in accordance with papal rules, there were very few objectors. Out of over nine thousand clergy, not more than two hundred were deprived for refusal to accept the reformation directed by Elizabeth and Parker. It seemed at first as if religious peace was probable. The vast

majority of clergy and laity joyfully accepted the changes which gave English services and freedom to the National Church.

Nor was this all. The King of Spain, husband of the late queen, was anxious to ally with Elizabeth. In January 1559 he even proposed to marry her. Elizabeth replied that the Pope would not allow the marriage. And even the Pope was not anxious to break with England. When Pius IV. was summoning a council, he invited England to send representatives, thus showing that he regarded her as belonging to the Catholic Church.

Hopes of reunion.

Cecil replied that England could not refuse to allow the presidency of the Pope in the council, 'provided it was understood that the Pope was not above the council, but merely its head; and its decisions should be accepted in England if they were in harmony with Holy Scripture and the first four councils.' Such terms would have shattered all the Pope's claims, and thus English representatives never sat in the Council of Trent. Later still, it seems certain that the Pope was willing to accept the English Prayer Book if the English Church would accept his supremacy. It was upon this point, as appears again and again during the history of these years, that the English Reformation turned.

But there was another side. During Mary's reign many English churchmen had been abroad, and most of them had sought refuge at Geneva, where the powerful system of Calvin, so clear and logical, exercised upon them a fascination which coloured their whole view of religion. In the hands of such men the measures by which Elizabeth and the leaders of the Church sought to make peace between the parties were strained to the utmost. They were zealous and earnest men, abhorring ancient usages which seemed to them popish, and eager to translate the quiet prudence of Parker's instructions into vigorous and iconoclastic action. Thus when Elizabeth's injunctions ordered the destruction of 'all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition' (thus returning to the order of Henry VIII.'s reign, which destroyed all the impostures which grew up round the shrines of local saints,

Foreign influences in favour of extreme Protestantism.

and which culminated in the famous destruction of the Canterbury shrine), the zealots in country districts, bishops, priests, or churchwardens, were eager to destroy all ornaments, all altars, the roodlofts, and images even of the Crucifixion. What honest iconoclasm began was often continued for mere greed; and men with false commissions went about destroying brasses with an eye to their own profit. So widely did this spread that it was necessary in 1560 to put out a proclamation against the defacing of monuments.

It was with difficulty that Elizabeth kept the peace. She knew well that the majority of her people were of her mind. They had been brought up in the ancient faith of Christendom, the faith which was called Catholic because the Church in all ages held it. Taught by disciples of the Renaissance and the Reformation, they rejected all feigned miracles and superstitions. Remembering the imperious magnificence of Henry VIII. they delighted in the assertion of national independence. In all these things the queen was at one with the mass of her subjects. She spoke truly when she said in 1588 that in time of danger she placed her 'chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of her people,' and that for her God, her kingdom, and her people she would lay down her honour and her blood even in the dust. She spoke truly when she said at the very end of her reign that she was 'never so much enticed with the glorious name of a king' as delighted that God had made her 'His instrument to maintain His truth and glory, and to defend the kingdom from dishonour, damage, tyranny, and oppression.' National freedom, with its proud self-assertion, was the first thought of her people and herself. On the one side were those who would bring the Church again under Rome; on the other those who would purge from the Church everything that bound it to the glory and dignity of its historic past, and restrain it within the limits of a narrow and a foreign system. The difficulty of keeping the peace between these parties and of winning them, if possible, to the moderation of the National Church, which preserved true religion and sound learning, was one which Elizabeth, with all her faults, consistently faced. And in the end she conquered.

Elizabeth's wise position.

As steps in this policy the events of 1563 are important. In that year the formularies or articles of faith were seriously revised. After careful and repeated consideration, in which the queen herself (as in the case of Article XX) took an important part, after publication in English, in Latin, and with divers alterations, the XXXIX Articles, reduced and revised from the XLII put out under Edward VI., were issued in 1571; and while definitely rejecting Roman errors such as the plural 'sacrifices of masses,' held fast to the ancient Catholic doctrine and the authority of the Church in controversies of faith. The Homilies (to be read when the minister did not preach an original sermon) were published in the same year, and upheld the same doctrinal standards.

The XXXIX Articles.

Some eight years were spent before the Articles thus received their final shape. During this time the extreme party tried again and again to get rid of some of the historic uses of the Church, such as the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Holy Communion, and the use of the prescribed vestments. Discipline, it seemed, was at an end. In some parishes the services were conducted in one way, in some in another. The clergy were often as ignorant as they had been in the worst days of the mediæval Church, though the ordinary requirements for ordination were much higher. Elizabeth herself complained that there was 'crept into the Church an open and manifest disorder and offence, especially in the external and decent and lawful rites and ceremonies to be used in the Church.' Some of the parish priests were content with the minimum of conformity, and some with actual disobedience to the Church's rules. In 1566 Parker put out a book of *Advertisements*, by which he insisted on the use of the surplice in all churches, and of the cope in cathedrals, but did not mention the further vestments required by the Prayer Book. The book was issued without the queen's formal authority, and it did not, of course, supersede the authority, both ecclesiastical and parliamentary, of the 'Ornaments rubric.' It was intended to state the *minimum* with which the archbishop would be contented. But it by no means satisfied the party which proved the greatest difficulty in the way of the realisation of Elizabeth's desire for uniformity and Parker's wish for a seemly order. 'As for the most part of these recusants,' wrote the archbishop, 'I could wish them out of

The 'Advertisements.'

the ministry, as mere ignorant and vain-headed.' But he underrated their power. The Puritans, or Precisians—two names which were given them in derision—were a strong and convinced body, determined against the enforcement of ceremonial rules, enamoured of the discipline of Geneva, abhorrent of the use even of the surplice, and still more of the sign of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, of kneeling at the Holy Communion. The contest was at first not violent, but it seemed very close. In 1563 the Puritan claims were only lost in the lower house of the Convocation of Canterbury by one vote. After the issue of the *Advertisements* it is said that some thirty per cent. of the London clergy resigned their posts. And certainly the free utterance of their tenets caused a considerable increase among their supporters. It was not till 1567 that by the queen's order some hundred Puritans were seized in London for holding a meeting, which was asserted to be seditious, and imprisoned. The courts which had been set up in accordance with the Act of Supremacy did not yet act with severity; and it was some years before a serious contention arose. The history of the Court of High Commission belongs rather to the later years of the reign.

The Puritans.

The year 1570 proved a mark of division. In that year Elizabeth found herself confronted by a new and terrible danger. In 1569 the Duke of Norfolk, suspected of intriguing with Mary of Scots, was arrested, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the exhortation and blessing of Pius v., broke into open rebellion. The rising was crushed, on the whole, with lenity; but it showed the danger that was at hand from the rejuvenated Papacy, restored to vigour and cohesion by the Council of Trent. When the rebellion was suppressed Elizabeth issued a proclamation, in which she contrasted the security of her people with the 'continual and universal bloodsheds' of other lands. She expressly denied any assumption of power to define or determine any article of faith, or to change any ancient rite or ceremony of the Church from the form before received and observed by the Catholic and Apostolic Church. She went on to say that she claimed no authority in Church matters beyond what her predecessors had always exercised, an authority 'to direct all estates to live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion,

The rising of the North.

to see that the laws of God be duly observed, that offenders be duly punished, and consequently to provide that the Church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers, according to the ancient ecclesiastical policy of the realm, whom we do assist with our sovereign power.' But it was this authority that Pope Pius v. would not suffer. On May 15, 1570, his bull of excommunication of Elizabeth, and of deposition, and of absolution of her subjects from their obedience, was found nailed to the door of the Bishop of London's palace. Henceforth it was war to the knife. The Papacy, under a new and energetic Pope, had thrown aside its caution, had abandoned all hope of a peace with the English Church, and had determined, by force of arms if need be, to extort from the English people an absolute submission to its claims of jurisdiction and sovereignty.

Excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius V., 1570.

The effect of the papal bull of deposition in 1570 can hardly be exaggerated. It followed on the rebellion of 1569, which was a Romanist movement, and it declared plainly that this rebellion was but to be the beginning of a continued war against the English throne. Before the issue of the bull many of those who would not willingly have broken off from the Pope had without scruple attended the parish churches, having in addition, at times, services in their own houses according to the Roman rite. They were now unable to retain their loyalty to the Pope without wholly deserting the National Church, and at the same time political agents of the English Government kept a much more sharp look-out for Roman priests and Jesuits. In the years that immediately followed the issue of the bull the professors of Romanism in England greatly decreased. Those of 'Queen Mary's priests' who had not accepted the changes had died or were dying out. It became urgent, if Rome was not to lose all support in England, to replace them, and a flood of missionaries was poured in from seminaries over sea. It was generally felt by English laymen that the bull of deposition was not one to be executed by them; and it was then by some, as it is since by most Roman Catholics, fully admitted that if the Pope was able to adjudge the queen a heretic, he was, when he deprived her of her 'pretended' right to the crown absolved all her subjects from their allegiance,

Its effects.

and declared all those excommunicate who should henceforth presume to obey her laws or acknowledge her as queen, exceeding the powers which the Church had ever committed to him. There was a clear division here, as in so many matters of doctrine, between the practical teaching then common at Rome and in ecclesiastical seminaries and the authorised decisions of the Catholic Church, even in its Roman branch. The bull sowed disunion in England, and was certain to arouse a stern resistance among Englishmen. But whatever was thought of it in England it was not intended by the Italians that it should remain inoperative. In 1579 the English college at Rome was taken from the hands of the secular clergy and placed under the Jesuits. It was to the Jesuits that the mission of reconverting England to the Pope was intrusted, and the trust was received with enthusiasm, and executed with dauntless courage and with few scruples as to means. They engaged in every intrigue, were acquainted with every kind of plot, and without any sanction from the rule of their society engaged themselves up to the hilt in the most dangerous developments of secular and ecclesiastical politics. They were forced to go in disguise. Thomas Heath, brother of the Archbishop of York under Mary, not only wore the dress of a priest of the English Church, but preached puritanical sermons in churches. Some dressed as soldiers, some as 'roaring-boys or roysters,' some as servants, some even as pursuivants of the State. Not only was their work as preachers, confessors, ministers of the sacraments, very effective in winning converts, but the books which they printed at secret presses in different parts of the country were powerful means of arousing opposition to the queen and the Church. The books, such as those of Campion and of Parsons, the ablest of the missionaries, were distributed by the priests, by young Romanist nobles, and scattered about the streets. The pamphlets were designed, in the words of Walsingham the acute minister of Elizabeth, to turn those who were 'Papist in conscience' into 'Papists in action,' and as such the Government regarded them as more dangerous than the open menace of foreign powers.

The Jesuit mission.

In the summer of 1580 Campion and Parsons landed in England. A proclamation was put out by the queen in January 1581 in

which the English Jesuits and seminary priests, who were her subjects, were declared to be fomenting rebellion. The rebellion of the previous year in Ireland was pointed to as an attempt to put into execution the bull of deposition, under the sanction of the Pope, and with the support of a papal legate. It was therefore declared that any who should receive any such Jesuit or priest should be accounted 'maintainers and abettors of such rebellious and seditious persons.' And by Act of Parliament 1581, it was declared high treason to absolve the queen's subjects from their allegiance, and a fine of 200 marks was made the penalty for saying the Roman mass.

The papal emissaries led a precarious life. In July 1581 Campion was seized, and under torture revealed the names of several who had received him into their houses. These persons were fined, and he himself was executed at Tyburn on December 1, 1581, as a traitor.

Parsons was much more of an intriguer than Campion. He became an avowed conspirator, and after engaging in political intrigue of the most dangerous kind, fled in necessary prudence to the Continent. It is clear that the ordinary English Romanists much disliked the proceedings of these men. A number of letters of the time have been preserved which illustrate the very strong feeling of the ordinary English priests against the Jesuits. Dr. Gifford, one of the most notable of the English Papists, speaks of the missionaries of the society as 'those violent and bloody spirits who continuously and unnaturally practise against their Prince and country,' and Dr. Humphrey Ely, a man who had proved his loyalty to the Roman Church, denounces them as 'those unnatural bastards that do attend to nought else but conquests and invasions.' Evidence such as this, and there is plenty of it, reminds us how large was the justification of Elizabeth's ministers for thinking the Romish emissaries to be traitorous enemies of the State. The old Roman clergy themselves believed that their new fellows were planning treason, revolution, and assassination. Is it to be wondered at that those who were anxious to preserve the queen's life, and who believed in the National Church as reformed, should share their opinion?

Parsons more than any one else was to blame for the alienation

of Englishmen from their countrymen who clung to the papal party. So deeply was this felt by the priests, that they spoke of him as a 'serpent voice, who never sought the things of Christ, but always his own.' It was to him more than any one else that the severe measures, the executions, the imprisonments of Roman priests, were due. He was as bitter and as treacherous in his contests with those of his own faith who disagreed with him as he was against the Government and Church of his country. In his controversy with his co-religionists his tactics were to 'poison the wells,' to damage the priests' characters, to misrepresent their motives, and prevent—as he very nearly succeeded in doing—their getting a hearing at Rome. He was a conspirator from 1581, and that in the teeth of his pledges and the commands of his superiors.

Parsons.

Yet in spite of assassination plots and mysterious intrigues, all the more alarming because they were suspected rather than known, it seems to be clear that harshness as a rule was foreign to the policy of the queen and her ministers. It has been so long assumed by Anglican writers that Elizabeth's severity was both great and indefensible that a special interest attaches to the letters of the Jesuit emissaries. Elizabeth seems always to have been seeking peace. She set free four priests 'whose lives were forfeited or in jeopardy for their allegiance to Rome,' and sent them with passports to Rome, because she and her ministers were always trying to find some trustworthy test to distinguish between loyal and disloyal priests, and she hoped—as did James I., but both in vain—that the Pope might be induced to prohibit any attempts at insurrection.

The queen's policy.

The queen was at length alarmed by the reports which were constantly reaching her ministers. Parliament was still more excited by the attempts to overturn the settlement in Church and State. It is quite certain that Romanists, priests as well as laymen, were concerned in the plots of 1572 (Ridolfi) and 1586 (Babington), and when at last the Armada in 1588 showed that Spain was ready to enforce the papal bull of deposition, it is not to be wondered at that the statutes against English Romanists became cruelly severe. Step by step throughout the reign, Parliament had been attempting a more and more stern

Acts against the Papists.

repression. In 1562 an Act for Assurance of the Queen's Supremacy was passed which ordered all clergy, graduates, and members of Parliament to take oaths to the supremacy, and that any person by act or deed defending 'the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome, or of his see, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped, within this realm,' should be liable to the penalties of the Statute of Praemunire. This was probably not enforced: but the bull of deposition produced much more severe measures. In 1571 two Acts were passed, one declaring any one reconciled to Rome guilty of high treason, the other making it high treason to declare the queen a heretic. It was further made treason to accept or introduce papal bulls. The mission of the Jesuits redoubled the national anxiety for the queen's life. In 1581 it was declared treason to attempt to convert any of the queen's subjects to Romanism, and severe penalties were imposed on the saying or hearing of the Roman mass. In 1585 an Act for the security of the queen's person banished all Jesuits and seminary priests from the kingdom on pain of death. In 1593 an Act confined recusants (those who did not obey the religious laws) to particular abodes. This completed the anti-Roman legislation of the reign. It was justified by the importance of the queen's life, but it widened the gulf between the small body of Romanists and the rest of the queen's subjects, and helped to render the Roman schism a permanent feature in the religious difficulties of the reign.

With the Puritans the case was different. Their principles were felt to be anti-national, but they were not suspected of a desire to take the queen's life. Thus the penalties inflicted on them were far less severe, and it was only the gradual assumption by some of the party of a very extreme position, which led eventually to an open breach between them and the State. When the *Advertisements* were issued, some of the Puritan ministers withdrew from communion with the Church, resolving 'since they could not have the word of God preached, nor the sacraments administered without idolatrous gear, to break off from the public churches, and to assemble, as they had opportunity, in private houses.' In 1569 they found a leader in Thomas Cartwright, who was in that year elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He was a

The Puritan party under Cartwright.

man of great learning, an able preacher, and an extremely skilful controversialist. Within two years he was deprived of his professorship and his fellowship at Trinity, and expelled the kingdom, for his extreme opinions. He attacked the bishops as 'a remnant of Antichrist's brood,' and the clergy as 'boys and senseless asses for the most part.' He would utterly have swept away the system of the Church and substituted that of Calvinist Presbyterianism, which maintained that a presbyter, without Episcopal ordination, is the equal of a bishop, and that the presbyter therefore forms the highest order of the ministry. In the Parliament of 1571 there was a distinct Puritan party whose prominent speakers, Mr. Strickland and Mr. Wentworth, made bitter attacks on the bishops, and brought forward bills designed for a reformation of the Church after the German model. Elizabeth quickly intervened. She absolutely forbade the Commons to proceed further in the matter, and the bills were withdrawn. She agreed to an Act authorising the XXXIX Articles, and requiring assent to them from all ministers. She issued a proclamation requiring the prelates to put in execution the Act of Uniformity. The *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (see above, p. 157) was now put in print, but it failed, no doubt through Elizabeth's intervention, to obtain legal force.

In 1572 Cartwright and others drew up a volume called the *First and Second Admonition to the Parliament*, a 'view of popish abuses in the English Church.' In this they declared that the Prayer Book was drawn out of the 'popish dunghill,' and the form for ordinations word for word out of the Pope's pontifical, and that the names of the prelates were 'drawn out of the Pope's shop,' and their government was 'Antichristian and devilish.' The vigour of the book made it sell. It was answered by John Whitgift, Dean of Lincoln. But its tenets were more and more actively spread among the clergy. In 1573 the queen issued a proclamation against nonconformists, and charged the bishops to enforce the law. She hoped, no doubt, that the difficulties would pass into the background in face of the national danger from the Romanists. Parker died in 1575. A learned, judicious man, he was one of the wisest primates the English Church has ever had. He based his whole work, as the great English primates have always

done, on the settled order of the Church, apart from all innovations. 'He cared not for cap, tippet, surplice, wafer-bread'—the small matters on which Puritans differed from the Church's rule—'as such, but for the laws established.' His successor was Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, a mild man, who was soon seen to be of Puritan proclivities. To fill vacancies in the Church, he ordained almost with recklessness: in the thirty ordinations he held, he admitted a hundred and sixty deacons, and nearly as many priests. It is not to be wondered at that these clergy—and the ordinations in other dioceses were proportionate—were easily led into the advanced doctrines of Geneva. Grindal also endeavoured by canons or articles laid before the Canterbury Convocation, and sanctioned by the queen, to do away with some of the difficulties in the way of holy orders. 'Exercises' or 'prophesyings,' meetings for religious discussion in which clergy and laity met together, were established in the interest of the 'Precisians.' Elizabeth peremptorily commanded Grindal to stop them: he refused, and she suspended him, by the power of the State, from the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions. None the less he continued to ordain and consecrate, and to visit the country as metropolitan, but he was not allowed to preside over the Convocation. In 1583 Grindal died, and Whitgift succeeded him, who, from Dean of Lincoln, had become in 1577 Bishop of Worcester. Of his ability and orthodoxy there was no doubt. He found himself confronted by great disorder in the Church. The Council and the Commons were both in favour of the Puritans. Those who separated from the Church had begun to form sects, such as the Brownists (parents of the modern Congregationalists) and Anabaptists, the latter of whom the queen vigorously persecuted, causing some in 1575 to be burned. Those who still remained within the Church adopted the rules of the Book of Discipline drawn up by Cartwright and others, which supplemented the Church's order by a Presbyterian one. A *classis* or conference of clergy was formed in several districts to which all who desired to be ordained were to apply. If the classis 'called' them, they were then suffered to be ordained by the bishop. They were directed to use no more of the legal ceremonial than

Archbishop Grindal.

The prophesyings.

Attempt to set up Presbyterianism.

they found themselves compelled to use. Whitgift determined to suppress this half-secret Presbyterianism. He issued articles insisting on subscription to the Prayer Book and Articles, and he put into force the full powers with which the queen readily supported him. The ecclesiastical commission, issued under the Act of Supremacy, now came into full play. Parliament had given the crown power to establish a Court of High Commission, through which it was expected that the bishops, with lay assistance, would exercise their power of control over the clergy more expeditiously and successfully than through their own lawful Episcopal courts. The High Commission, sitting in different parts of the country under this State authority, examined, suspended, and deposed clergy who refused to perform the services as directed in the Prayer Book, or who disobeyed the bishops. Such methods have never been successful in England, and a strong feeling was fostered against the bishops who were forced by the Council to carry them out.

The Court of High Commission.

The Puritan party in the Commons saw the danger of the archbishop's proceedings being successful: they petitioned the Lords that the bishops should not ordain without the assistance of 'six other ministers at the least'; a further petition requested that the bishops should not act without the assistance of a number of 'preaching' clergy. Elizabeth was firm. When she prorogued Parliament in 1585, she declared distinctly that she would stand no interference with her rule, no 'subtle scannings' of God's will, or 'newfangledness.'

Three years later came the real crisis of the reign. Papist plots to place the captive Mary of Scotland on the English throne, and to kill Elizabeth, were discovered in 1584. The murder of William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch Protestant revolt against Spain, made the danger patent. The acts against the Romanists were increased in severity. In 1586 another plot, designed by John Ballard, a Jesuit priest, and Anthony Babington, a Derbyshire gentleman, was discovered. Mary was implicated, and on February 18, 1587, she was executed as a traitor. Elizabeth had struggled to the last to avoid the responsibility for her death, and when it was done she tried to disclaim it. But events were too strong for her, and

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

Philip of Spain determined at last to invade the country, and set up the power of the Pope again. At the very time when the Puritan attacks on the Church system were most violent, when the 'Martin Marprelate' tracts—a series of disgraceful libels directed against the bishops, whom they attacked in gross language, and Episcopacy, which they declared to be an invention of Satan—were being secretly printed and circulated, and the extreme Puritans were believed to be a political danger, came, in the summer of 1588, the Armada, Philip's great fleet, with the benediction of Pope Sixtus v., for the subjugation of England to Spain and to Rome.

The Armada.

The National Church came triumphantly out of these dangers. All classes rallied loyally round the State at the time of the Spanish attack, and even the Roman Catholics (*i.e.* the party which after 1570 refused to accept the English Church any more and clung to the Pope of Rome) fought to preserve the kingdom from the foreigners. But the Crown and the Church stood together, and the defeat of the Armada meant that the English Church would never again be at the mercy of a foreign power. In like manner the Puritans failed to influence the nation as a whole, because it was felt that their system of Church government came from abroad, and their rule of life was narrow and opposed to the broad sympathy with all human life and work, as the gift of God, which was the inspiring force of the great literature of the age. The great writers of Elizabeth's day, in spite of many temptations to which they too often yielded, were at heart profoundly religious men, and had a sincere faith in the power of God and the love of His Son. History, poetry, and the drama all turned their arms against Puritanism, and we shall see hereafter that a great theological writer arose to complete their work.

Effects of the Armada.

The defeat of the Armada left England with many perils, but the great queen was secure in the affections of her people, and the Church was rising year by year in learning and efficiency, and was firmly fixed, as it had been five centuries before, as the greatest of national institutions.

After the defeat of the Armada the violence of the Puritan controversy gradually declined. The year 1588 was the high-

water mark of the sectarian attack as seen in the 'Martin Marprelate' libels. The queen ordered a strict search for the authors, and some of them were arrested. One, Nicholas Udal, died in prison; and another, Penry, a Welshman, was executed in 1593. Cartwright, refusing to purge himself by oath from the charges against him, was for some time in prison. Parliament was now convinced of the danger from their attacks, and in 1593 passed an Act against 'seditious sectaries and disloyal persons,' affixing the severest penalties to the frequenting of conventicles, and to the denial of the royal supremacy.

The later years of Elizabeth saw a perceptible progress in the literary support of the National Church. The queen's wise restraint and the firm attitude of Parker and Whitgift aided in convincing the people that the National Church was safe in their hands in a midway between Popish and Puritan sectaries. Without the queen it is possible that the Church might have gone further to meet the foreign Protestants. In 1596 certain divines at Lambeth, with the sanction of Archbishop Whitgift, drew up nine articles, which became known as the Lambeth Articles, which clearly asserted the most severe Calvinistic doctrines, such as that God had not left it in the power of all men to be saved. Such opinions received much support at the universities. Oxford had Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for its chancellor, a man who hoped, by supporting the Puritans, to gain some church property for himself. Walsingham, the queen's Secretary of State, founded a divinity lecture, to which he appointed Dr. Reynolds, a noted Puritan. Thus 'the face of the university was so much altered that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England, according to the principles and position upon which it was first reformed.' At Cambridge the Puritan position was even more strongly supported.

The Lambeth Articles.

A reaction began with the publication of several learned and closely reasoned books in defence of the English Church as a member of the Catholic Society. During the first stress of the Reformation English writers had been mainly concerned to defend the Church against the special doctrines and claims of the Roman see. Thus Cranmer had attacked all mediæval teaching unsparingly, and very many of his colleagues assumed a strongly

Protestant position. They were so strongly antipapal as to fall very easily into the opposite errors; and many of their successors had both suffered severely in exile and also learnt from foreign Protestants the attraction of a rigid and logical system.

Jewell.

But Bishop Jewell, though he was himself opposed to much that was of Catholic use, as early as 1562 in his *Apology* claimed that the English Church had 'returned to the primitive Church of the ancient Fathers and Apostles.' As time went on, and the mediæval errors began to be forgotten, in the absence of the 'feigned miracles' and superstitions which had roused the first reformers to a passionate vindication of worship and reverence as belonging to God alone, students of theology began more carefully to justify their position on the ground of allegiance to the practice of the primitive Church. This, insisted upon by the first reformers, now came to be the rallying cry of a new school of scientific theologians. When the Puritan attacks began to be directed against the Church's system, a series of writers arose who based upon a deep study of the Holy Scripture and ancient authors a reasoned defence of the reformed Church of England. The canons of 1571 declared that nothing was to be taught 'save what was agreeable to the teaching of the Old or New Testament, and what the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from this selfsame doctrine.' From this theologians began to study the origin of the Church. Bancroft in 1589 proved Episcopacy to be of the essence of the Church. In 1593 Bilson clearly explained the doctrine of apostolic succession, and the perpetual government of Christ's Church by a ministry having its commission from Christ. In 1594 Richard Hooker published his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a convincing refutation of the Puritan claim, and a magnificent vindication of the reasoning powers of man in relation to the mysteries of God and the order of the Church. Hooker clearly declared that the English Church separated from Roman Catholics only in their errors, and admitted them to be 'of the family of Jesus Christ.' His book is the greatest theoretical defence of the English Church that exists. Here and there it is timid in positive statement, and it is always extremely deliberate, unexaggerated, and judicious; but the principles on which it is

Bancroft and Bilson.

Hooker.

written—the reliance upon God's revelation, upon the Divine guidance of the Church, and upon the enlightened reason of man—are those on which the Church has always founded her best claim to justification before the conscience and the judgment of humanity. Reason, Scripture, tradition, all have their place in his magnificent and unexaggerated appeal. Where his opponents were rash and vehement, he was calm, restrained, making for conciliation. Among all the great writers whom the English Church has nourished there is none of whom she may be more justly proud.

But he did not stand alone. He was followed by theologians as learned if not so widely influential. Dean Field of Gloucester, when he described the continuity of the Church, defended Englishmen as belonging to the Church 'wherein all our fathers lived, longing to see things brought to their first beginnings again,' and not to any new body founded at the Reformation. Bramhall. Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh (died 1663), completed the circle of defenders when he declared on behalf of the National Church, 'I have not the least doubt that the Church of England before the Reformation, and the Church of England after the Reformation, are as much the same Church as a garden before it is weeded and after it is weeded is the same garden.' This school of writers became even stronger under the Stewarts. At Elizabeth's death it had vindicated the position which she had always striven to maintain for the National Church.

While the English reformation had thus come to something of a definite settlement, in Wales some progress also had been made. It is said that Queen Elizabeth was anxious to have the Welsh sees filled by Welshmen. Bishop Richard Davies, who was consecrated to S. Asaph in 1560, and translated to S. David's in the following year, has left a return of his clergy, which shows but few abuses. His successor at S. Asaph was Thomas Davies, under whom it was ordered that the Catechism should be used in Welsh, and that after the Epistle and Gospel were read in English, they were to be said also in Welsh. The translation of the New Testament into Welsh was published in 1567, and in the same year the Book of Common Prayer was also issued. In 1588 the whole Bible was published in Welsh. The Reformation in Wales.

In 1603 the great queen went to her account. With all her faults, and they were very many, she left a memory which Englishmen will never forget. The Church, which she did not hesitate to pillage, owes to her protection which no sovereign has given more fully. If she misunderstood some of the signs of her time, if she exercised her power with too much violence and too little consideration, she was clear as to the essential principles on which the government of the Church must rest. She was sharp with individual bishops, but she reverenced their office and was anxious to see the exercise of its full powers. She was always in intention a loyal daughter of the Church, and in act she saved to the Church no less than she saved to the State its national freedom.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH UNDER THE STEWARTS

When Elizabeth died a strong hand was removed from the head of affairs. If the Church did not suffer so soon as the State, it was not long before the effects were visible in ecclesiastical matters. The new king was James VI. of Scotland, a learned man, taught by George Buchanan, well read in the Fathers and in the modern theology, and inclined, like most of his countrymen, to accept, in some points at least, the clear and trenchant theology of Calvin. The history of religion in Scotland since his accession prepared him to act as he did when he crossed the border. The first Regent, Moray, had sworn on taking office to root out of Scotland 'all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God,' and Parliament fixed the severest penalties upon the saying or hearing of mass. While the real Episcopacy was abolished, titular bishops were appointed to hold the sees. They were, of course, not consecrated, and no jurisdiction was allowed them. The government of the reformed religious body was in the hands of the General Assembly, and after Knox's death the chief power fell into the hands of Andrew Melville, an able and violent man, who returned from Geneva determined to set up a definite Presbyterianism in his native land. For nearly twenty years he devoted untiring energy and persistence to this work. In each Assembly he worked for the abolition even of the titular bishops. Scandals about the appointments aided him: in 1581 Robert Montgomery was appointed to the Archbishopric of Glasgow on promising to hand over all the revenues of the see to the Duke of Lennox and be content with 'the yearly payment of one thousand pounds Scots,

James I.

His experiences in Scotland.

with some horse corn and poultry.' To bishops of this sort the people gave the name of 'tulchans.' It was said: 'When a cow will not give her milk they stuff a calf's skin full of straw and set it down before the cow, and that is called a tulchan.' Everywhere the name of bishop fell, for such reasons, into contempt. The position of the ministers was still more unfortunate. Knox had expected that the revenues of the Church would be transferred to the new ministers; but the nobles kept them in their own hands, and though legally one-third of the revenue of Church lands was the due of the minister, the lords frequently deprived them of this pittance. In 1581 the king urged the provision of proper stipends, but practically nothing was done. James was in charge which was little better than durance; and he soon acquired a strong hatred of Presbyterian government. Delighting in the display of his own learning and eloquence, he found the long sermons to which he had to listen intolerable, especially when ministers dealt freely with his infirmities and addressed him as 'God's silly vassal.' Year after year he passed through increasing anxieties and dangers. Parties among the nobles schemed to dethrone him; Jesuits plotted for the recovery of Scotland as well as England, and went through the country to arouse supporters for the Armada. Amid the confusion the religious changes were pressed on. The nominal Episcopate, the use of fixed forms of prayer, in the English Prayer Book and Knox's Book of Common Order, were scanty memorials of the ancient Church. On the other hand, the observance of the Christian festivals and fasts, even Easter, Christmas, and Good Friday, was utterly abandoned. In 1592 the final change was made, and Melville triumphed. The titular bishops were abolished by the Scots Parliament, and Presbyterianism was fully established. 'The power that had been given to the bishops was expressly repealed, presentation to benefices were made subject to the control of the presbyteries, and the "full liberties, privileges, and immunities of the Church" were ratified. General Assemblies were also allowed to meet once a year, or oftener on emergency, the time and place being fixed by the king or his commissioner.' The system now established exercised severe repression upon individuals, and

The poverty of the Kirk.

Establishment of Presbyterianism, 1592.

ruled those who were not strong enough to resist with a rod of iron.

As he grew up, and as the leaders of the Calvinistic Reformation died off, James became able, little by little, to attempt the carrying out of his two great desires—the restoration to the use of religion of the property of the ancient Church, and the revival of the apostolic ministry. There were great difficulties, and, most of all, the raging intolerance of the ministers themselves. By statute all Romanists were obliged to have a Presbyterian minister in their houses or leave the country. It was not wonderful, under these circumstances, that an insurrection broke out which seriously threatened the throne. The Presbyterians, with their endless fightings, seemed to the king at least equally dangerous. In 1597 he made his first step in advance. In a General Assembly at Perth it was agreed that 'ministers should not meddle in the pulpit with affairs of State, or attack persons by name in the pulpit,' a simple but wholesome concession which in time would make for peace. In 1599 James published his *Basilikon Doron*, in which he expressed his opinion candidly of the political preachers as 'fiery and seditious spirits who delighted to rule as tribunes of the people,' and of Puritans as 'very pests in the Church and Commonwealth.' When on April 24, 1603, the Queen of England died and King James was recognised without dispute as her successor, he was able to put these opinions into practice.

Steps towards the revival of Episcopacy.

James was expected in England with eagerness by two parties. First, the Puritans seemed to see in him a man after their own hearts. He had always declared himself loyal to the Scots religion, and he had spoken of the Kirk as 'the sincerest Church in Christendom.' Thus the clergy who longed to carry on the English Reformation till they brought the Church into union with the Scots hastened to lay their grievances before the new king, and to ask from him a decisive change of the ancient order. He was met as he came towards London by a number of clergy, who presented a petition which was called the Millenary Petition, because, though it was only signed by 753 ministers, it was supposed to represent the wishes of a thousand. Briefly the demands were for the abolition

Puritan expectations in England of James.

of the sign of the cross, of bowing at the Holy Name, of the ring in marriage, and of two articles in the dress of the clergy, a surplice in church and a square cap out of doors. They asked for a conference to discuss their wishes, and to this James very gladly agreed.

The Roman hopes.

The second party of expectancy was the Romanist. James was the son of Mary of Scots, and he had always professed a horror of intolerance. He was known to have entered into negotiations with the Pope. His sympathy with ancient modes of thought seemed to the Papists a step towards the Roman obedience.

The Hampton Court Conference.

Both parties were undeceived. On January 14, 1604, a conference met at Hampton Court in which the Puritan demands were formulated by four learned divines from Oxford and Cambridge, and were met by nine bishops, six deans, and three other clergy. On the one side it became quite clear that the Puritans desired the destruction of essential unity with the primitive Church, and that they would not be content without the alteration of the Articles in a Calvinistic direction, the disuse of the ancient words 'priest' and 'absolution,' and the change of confirmation from an apostolic sacrament to a didactic ordinance. On the other, it was equally clear that the leaders of the Church, among whom were Whitgift, Bancroft, Field, and Andrewes, the founder of a new school of divines still more learned than that of Hooker, adhered strictly to the teaching and uses of the undivided Church. And the king very decidedly threw in his lot with the ancient order. He repeated a saying in which his ecclesiastical wisdom was compressed, 'No bishop, no king,' and remarked, with refreshing candour, that a Scots presbytery 'agreed as well with monarchy, as God and the devil.' He agreed to a new translation of the Bible, which was at once taken in hand, and resulted in 1611 in the issue of the version which has been authorised for use from that day to this. He suggested also the very necessary addition to the Church Catechism of questions on the Sacraments. A few alterations were also made in the Prayer Book, chiefly by way of addition and explanation.

The Hampton Court Conference was followed by a session of the Convocation of Canterbury, which passed in 1604 a large number

of canons, which being accepted also by the Convocation of York, and receiving the king's confirmation by letters patent, came into force as binding upon the Church of England, and remain in force to this day. Whitgift died at the end of the year. He was succeeded by Bancroft, who was ready to carry out the same policy. The king heartily supported him. He spoke at the opening of Parliament in 1604 very clearly of the 'true religion which by me is professed and by the law is established,' and of the body 'falsely called Catholics, but truly Papists,' and of a third 'which I call a sect rather than a religion, the Puritans and novelists.' The House of Commons said a word in their favour, but it was unheeded, and the king issued a proclamation ordering conformity. A number of clergy who refused to subscribe their assent to the Prayer Book and Articles were deprived, a proceeding which was absolutely necessary in a Church established in the country in accordance with definite laws, ecclesiastical and civil. It seemed for a while as if peace was given to the Church. 'Nonconformity,' says a writer of the time, 'grew out of fashion in a less time than could easily be imagined. Hereupon followed a great alteration in the face of religion; more churches beautified and repaired in the short time of [Bancroft's] government than had been in many years before; the liturgy more solemnly officiated by the priests and more religiously attended by the common people; the fasts and festivals more punctually observed by both than of later times; copes brought again into the service of the Church; the surplice generally worn without doubt or hesitancy; and all things in a manner reduced to the same state in which they had first been settled under Queen Elizabeth.' But if outward conformity was attained, there was still much to be won in the matter of the reverent offering of divine service; and, on the other hand, there was growing up a party in Parliament which was determined to oppose the crown both in spiritual and temporal matters.

King James against the Puritans.

For the time, however, the Puritans were silent, and the danger was from the Romanists. Failing to obtain the countenance they looked for from the new king, and vexed by the irritating nature of the penal laws, some desperate men, with the knowledge

of certain Jesuits, entered upon a plot which, had it not been disclosed in time, probably through the humanity of a confederate, would have blown up the king, several of the royal family, and the houses of Parliament with gunpowder. The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (1605), though it had been the work but of a few fanatics, revived all the national distrust and hatred of the papal party. In 1606 a severe, even barbarous, Act was passed against them, even making it a capital offence to be perverted to Rome. The oath of allegiance by this Act, extended in 1610, was made obligatory on all the official and professional classes. But throughout the reign James did his utmost to treat the Romish recusants with lenity; and his mildness was one of the causes of the divergence between him and his Parliaments which soon became a danger to the State.

The Gunpowder Plot.

Before he died the king was able to carry out his chief wish with regard to his native land. After the Assembly at Perth, which he had induced to place more power in his hands, he restored the titular bishops, and when he became King of England, he pushed on the restoration of Church order by a renewal of communion with the English Church. Andrew Melville, the strongest and ablest of the Presbyterian ministers, the successor of Knox as leader of the Reformation, was imprisoned in 1606. With his departure to France Presbyterianism visibly decayed. A Parliament at Perth in 1606 rescinded the Act which had given the bishops' lands to the crown. An Assembly at Linlithgow in the same year agreed that the Assemblies should be presided over by the bishops. An Assembly at Glasgow revived large powers for the bishops, and finally, on October 21, 1610, three Scottish titular bishops—Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Lamb of Brechin, and Hamilton of Galloway—were consecrated in London by English bishops. They consecrated ten other bishops, and Scotland again had the 'historic Episcopate.'

Restoration of the Episcopate in Scotland, 1610.

Considerable interest attaches to the question of this consecration. It has been sometimes rashly assumed that because men were consecrated bishops who had never been ordained priests, Presbyterian orders were formally recognised by the English Church. This is far from the truth. The Episcopate, as the

superior order, includes the lesser order, and the famous case of the great S. Ambrose is a memorable instance of the consecration of a layman directly to the Episcopate.

The bishops did not interfere with the machinery of Presbyterian government, such as the Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies which the Scottish Protestants had instituted in imitation of the French. There seemed to be no reason why such institutions should not continue to exist: they were not necessarily uncatholic, and though they were not national in their origin, they were capable of proving useful to the nation.

Public opinion in Scotland was divided as to the introduction of Episcopacy. The great body of the people were indifferent, the nobles were generally favourable, and the majority of the ministers seem to have been in favour of Episcopacy, except in certain strongholds of Presbyterianism in the south of Scotland. On the whole the new bishops were favourably received, but the feeling that they were not of national creation was never wholly lost, and led, with a revival of Calvinistic ardour, to the total destruction of Episcopacy thirty years later. The feeling among some of the lower people remained staunchly Calvinist. When Bishop Cooper said he had found new light, 'Ah, yes,' said an old woman, 'ye had ane candle afore, and now I see ye have twa. That's your new licht.' Meanwhile the Parliament of 1612 ratified the Episcopal constitution, formally rescinding the Act of 1592. Some of the last of the old reformers accepted the changes, and David Lindsay, long famous as the minister of Leith, died in 1613 as Bishop of Ross. In 1616 it was agreed that a service-book should be drawn up. In 1617 James visited Scotland and was accompanied by two leaders of English theology—Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, and Laud, Dean of Gloucester—but he was not favourably received. In the next year, however, his wishes were carried out.

In 1618 an Assembly at Perth, under the Archbishop of S. Andrews, accepted, by a great majority, Five Articles framed in antagonism to Presbyterian innovations. The articles were: (1) Kneeling at the Holy Communion; (2) Private Communion in cases of sickness; (3) Private Baptism in similar cases; (4) Confirmation of children by the bishop; (5) Religious observance of Christmas, Good Friday,

The Assembly of Perth, 1618.

Easter, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday. These innocent regulations met with the same opposition as that which was directed by the Puritans against the rules of the Church in England.

While he thus restored Episcopal government in Scotland, James had by no means abandoned his leaning towards some of the views of the great French reformer Calvin, and he sent English clergy to the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church at Dort in 1619, but neither the English nor the Scots Church were in any way committed to its decision on the Calvinist doctrine of Predestination. When Bancroft died he appointed Abbot, Master of University College, Oxford, a prominent supporter of Calvinist views, to the Primacy.

But the tendency thus shown was rendered futile by the growth of a school of learned and Catholic divines in the English Church. The chief of these was the saintly Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, whom men came to speak of as 'the light of the Christian world.' A student of moral theology as well as of Church history and the writings of the Fathers, he based his whole teaching primarily on the Bible, next on the consent of antiquity, and thirdly on the living authority of the continuous Church. He dwelt with an appealing insistence on the need of personal holiness among the clergy, and of intense activity in the work of the Church. He was prominent in the defence of the Church against Romanism. When Paul v. in 1606 forbade the English Romanists to take the oath of allegiance, Andrewes clearly proved that the oath demanded no more than all loyal subjects could assert and that antiquity warranted. In this book, the *Tortura Torti*, he developed that great appeal to history which has always been the strength of English churchmen against the papal claims. In a later answer to the Roman controversialist, Cardinal Perron, he asserted the Catholic position of the National Church. 'There is no interruption in the succession of our Church,' he declared, and of the Holy Communion he said 'the Eucharist ever was, and by us is, considered both as a sacrament and as a sacrifice.' Clear and forcible and full of learning in his writings, he was the finest, and the most popular preacher of his day. In all that he wrote, and all

Bishop Andrewes.

that he did, there shone the light of a simple devotion to the faith and life of Christ. It was natural that such a man should win many to see the beauty and holiness of the English Church, and the satisfaction which she offers to the intellectual difficulties of man. In his day the conversions from Romanism included that of Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, who was, for a time at least, genuinely impressed by the claims of the English position as against the extremes of Christian thought. He remained for some time in England as Dean of Windsor, and joined in the consecration of several English bishops. Among converts from foreign Protestantism was the learned Frenchman, Isaac Casaubon, who found the deepest comfort in the society and advice of Andrewes.

Converts to the English Church.

Round this saintly bishop there clustered before his death (September 25, 1626) many disciples among the English clergy. The chief of these was William Laud, President of S. John's College, Oxford, who rose from the Deanery of Gloucester to the Bishoprics of S. David's, 1621, Bath and Wells in 1626, and London in 1628, and in 1633, on the death of Abbot, his old opponent at Oxford, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. The years that followed the death of Andrewes saw two important changes. The first was the gradual enforcement of Church order according to the Elizabethan settlement; the second, the division between the Crown and the Parliament.

William Laud.

The attitude of the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference had made it clear that the difference between them and the formularies of the Church approached near to vital points. When Laud became the chief adviser of the crown in Church matters, as he did from the accession of Charles I. in 1625, it was plain that a decided position would be assumed on the subject of conformity. 'He, whoever he be, that will not communicate in public prayer with a National Church, which serves God as she ought, is a separatist,' was his clear statement of principle. Within the pale of the Church he would admit all who could accept her formularies in their most liberal interpretation. He abhorred a too rigid definition. He was perfectly satisfied with the Prayer Book, Articles, and Canons as he found them. He felt that it was no great demand to make of those who

His opinions.

entered the Church's ministry with the knowledge of these documents, and with pledged assent to them, that they should carry out their directions for the performance of divine service. Certain obvious reforms were necessary at this time. In the first place the condition of many of the churches, partly through the poverty of the clergy, partly through the violence of mobs or of hasty reformers in Elizabeth's day, was unworthy of the house of God. 'The inward worship of the heart,' Laud wrote, 'is the great service of God, and no service acceptable without it; but the external worship of God in His church is the great witness to the world that our heart stands right in that service of God.' It was not an age of reverence, and the want of awe in approaching God was as conspicuous in England then as it is to-day in many parts of Europe. The reforms which Laud initiated were very simple and very practical. Through the action of the Court of High Commission, or through his visitations of the province of Canterbury, he enforced the wearing of the surplice in all churches, and of the cope in cathedrals at the time of Holy Communion. He did not re-enforce the 'Ornaments rubric' of the Prayer Book, but was content, it seemed, with the minimum required by Parker's *Advertisements*, 'organs, candlesticks, a picture of a history at the back of the altar, and copes at communions and consecrations,' for which he could plead that 'these things have been in use ever since the Reformation.' Next he required that the holy tables which, according to the injunctions of Elizabeth (p. 176), were moved down from the east wall, for the Communion, should be permanently placed at the east end of the church. This order had no necessary significance as to doctrine: it was simply a measure of reverence, decency, convenience. But Laud certainly held, as did Andrewes, the ancient doctrine of our Lord's Real Presence in the Sacrament, and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. He ordered also that rails should be put before the altar 'to avoid profaneness': for, he said, 'the altar is the greatest point of God's residence upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis *Hoc est Corpus Meum*, This is My Body; but in the other it is at most but *Hoc est Verbum Meum*, This is My Word.' At the same time his requirements, and his own teaching, fell strictly within the limits of the formularies of the English Church. He

His reforms.

clearly and distinctly repudiated the errors, the additions, the mediæval definitions of the Roman see.

Laud not only reformed the parish churches, he required from the cathedral chapters a strict observance of the statutes by which they were bound. He induced the king to check the evil of non-residence among the bishops by requiring them all to leave London and reside in their sees. When he was Bishop of S. David's, he certainly resided but a short time, but in his other charges he set an example to all the bishops of his day. This work, carried on for about fifteen years, transformed the face of the Church of England, and this not because it raised the standard of ceremonial perceptibly, but because it made clear what was the *minimum* which the use of the Prayer Book demanded, and it caused that *minimum* to be accepted in nearly every parish church in England. In 1640, almost at the end of Laud's power, while passing a strong canon against Romanism, the Convocation of Canterbury gave ecclesiastical sanction to Elizabeth's injunctions, directed the placing of the 'communion table sideways under the east window of every chancel or chapel,' and declared that 'it is and may be called an altar by us in that sense in which the primitive Church called it an altar, and in no other.' One great obstacle to the performance of the Laudian order was the existence of a number of preachers, privately endowed, who were not parochial clergy, but who came to the churches to preach, and often were content to preach doctrines such as their patrons desired to hear. These 'lecturers,' as they were called, were to be found chiefly in Puritan districts, and they were almost all Puritans. Charles I. and the bishops did their best to suppress the preaching on controversial topics, and a declaration was put forth and prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, ordering silence on points of bitter disagreement and the acceptance of the Articles 'in the literal and grammatical sense.' At the root of all Laud's action, indeed, lay his strong belief in the free salvation offered by Christ, and his abhorrence of the Calvinistic teaching which emptied the Sacrifice on Calvary of its significance by restricting its efficacy as the one oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the world. The ultimate question between Laud and the Puritans was not one of ceremonial. Men of all opinions have in these

The question between Laud and the Puritans.

days come up to his standard. But still, the Puritans were right in recognising his position as one of irreconcilable antagonism to their own. The real difference must remain in this, that Laud and those who think with him see, in the position of the altar, the surplice, the cope, the stated forms of prayer which have been hallowed by the use of ages, links to the primitive and undivided Church, and in the apostolic orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, not only such links, but safeguards of essential truth which the Church cannot change. To his opponents some of these things seemed unnecessary, others evil.

Laud during the years when he was the king's chief adviser in Church matters was closely linked to great statesmen and great bishops. Chief among the first were the reckless Buckingham, the friend of Charles as of his father, whose foolish policy at home and abroad brought the throne itself into danger, but who was in Laud's eyes a man penitent for many sins and beset with many temptations; and Strafford, who was his warm friend and his supporter in the aim of banishing corruption and idleness from Church and State and making the king's power 'thorough.'

Among the bishops whom he trained were Bishop Wren of Ely; Cosin, who became after the Restoration a great Bishop of Durham; Mountagu, a learned controversialist against Romanists and Puritans; and Jeremy Taylor, one of the most beautiful of English writers, whose *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* show how close the English clergy of those days lived to God. He trained up also the two men who were to succeed him as Archbishop of Canterbury. One was William Juxon, who followed him as President of S. John's College, Oxford, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, and whom Charles I. would often speak of as 'that good man.' The other was Gilbert Sheldon, who lived to guide the Church for several years after 'the king had his own again.'

Laud's followers.

Among the clergy of those days there are three names which are held in famous memory. William Chillingworth, converted from Rome through Laud, Juxon, and Sheldon, wrote *The Religion of Protestants* (1637), which taught that 'nothing is necessary to be believed but what is plainly revealed.' It was the same thesis as is expressed in Laud's own controversy

Chillingworth.

with the Jesuit Fisher, published in 1639. Nicholas Ferrar, who received deacon's orders from Laud in 1625, conducted a household of strict rule in prayer and good works at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, and was thus the means of showing that though the monasteries had been suppressed, yet it was possible to live a life of order and obedience in a community. George Herbert, a pattern of English gentlemen and scholars, ended a holy life in the parsonage of Bemerton, near Salisbury. In his beautiful poems, and in his *Priest to the Temple*, the description of a country parson's life, he showed how the Church of England preserved for the people the ideal of a devoted life, consecrated to God, yet touched at every side by all His beautiful gifts, in nature, in art, in the mind and the whole nature of man.

Ferrar.

Herbert.

Three men such as these, whose work in the world was so different, preserve the memory of Laud's influence better even than the visible order of our parish churches to-day.

While the Church was thus, in spite of growing complaints among the Puritans, ordering herself within, she did not forget her duties to her children over the seas. It was ever in the mind of the English reformers that their church should be a pattern from which foreign nations should see how true religion and sound learning could abide on primitive lines apart from Rome. When Englishmen and Spaniards met often in Elizabeth's days in conflict on the main, the English religion was near the hearts of our seamen. 'Our Mass is as good as yours,' said an English sailor when an enemy derided the Reformation. Laud was careful to provide that the English service should be provided in the foreign towns where Englishmen dwelt, according to the simple and stately uses of the Prayer Book. When Charles and Buckingham went to Madrid, they took with them church furniture that the church services might be fittingly performed. A good instance of the care to provide for our dominions is found in the history of our nearest possessions.

The English Church abroad.

In the reign of Edward VI. the reforming movement was definitely accepted in the Channel Islands, the First Prayer Book being translated into French and received in Guernsey and Jersey. Under Mary it was set aside. Under Elizabeth the Prayer Book

as revised was accepted, but the Council gave permission, without any ecclesiastical sanction, to one minister at S. Peter's port (Guernsey), and another at S. Hilary's (Jersey), to preach and celebrate after the custom of the Huguenots; but the Bishop of Winchester strictly ordered the observance of the English service-book in all other churches. After the massacre of S. Bartholomew, many Huguenot ministers took refuge in the islands, and great efforts were made to make the Protestant mode of worship universal. It appears that James I. granted liberty of worship; and religion remained in a very unsettled state till Bishop Andrewes of Winchester, in whose diocese the islands were, with the king's assent, and the assistance of other prelates, amended the canons drawn up by the clergy of the islands, and restored the office of Dean. The Prayer Book was then adopted, and the English ecclesiastical jurisdiction fully accepted, and the islands have ever since been actually as well as formally under the rule of the Bishop of Winchester and the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The age of Andrewes and Laud thus definitely established the union of the Church in the Channel Islands with our own. The position of the English Church was at this time made clear to foreign nations by the fact that Laud, while engaging in political relations with foreign Protestants, carefully avoided all religious union, that he entered into harmonious intercourse with the Eastern Churches, and that when an old college friend of his came as an emissary from the Pope, he reported, after his interviews with Laud, that the English Church clearly claimed a truly ordained Episcopate and regarded the foreign Protestants as schismatics.

And in the Channel Islands.

But while Laud and those who agreed with him were generally successful in representing the English Church in its true aspect abroad, in Scotland the measures of their party met with utter failure. There the policy of James VI. had been too rapidly successful. Charles went farther and fared worse. Immediately on his accession, he restored to the Church all her lands which had been assumed by the crown. He tried to get the lay owners to follow his example, but the only result was to band the nobles together in opposition to the crown. He did, however, succeed in increasing the scanty endowments of

Charles I.'s measures in Scotland.

the parish clergy. Beyond this he had no permanent success. When he came to Edinburgh in 1633, his fixed intention was to introduce a service-book. Laud had already visited Scotland, with James VI., and he had aroused bitter feelings by wearing a surplice at a funeral. He came now as the king's trusted adviser, and he turned back from the coronation a bishop who would not wear his 'whites.' The Scots bishops as a body were ready enough to follow, if not to lead. Canons were drawn up by them and issued with the king's sanction. A Prayer Book was also drawn up by the Scots bishops, and with the oversight of Laud and Juxon. It was on the English model, but at the express desire of the Scots bishops, that it might not seem to have been dictated from England, it was in many points taken more directly from the early liturgies and 'more agreeable to the use in the primitive Church.'

The Scots Prayer Book.

On July 23, 1637, the service-book was used for the first time in S. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. The national feelings had been wrought to a frenzy of excitement at the idea of being ruled from England, or even united with that land either in one kingdom or one Church: the Calvinist teaching was still supreme in many parts of the country: the nobles were determined not to submit to the authority of the crown, and it seemed to them that the bishops were the crown's ministers for politics and religion. When the dean began to read the book, stools were thrown, windows were broken, and, in a scene of riot and confusion, the service was broken off. The king's representatives were too timid to continue it, and in a few weeks the riot became a rebellion. 'There was never in our land,' wrote a notable Presbyterian, 'such an appearance of a stir: the whole people think Popery at the doors. I think them possessed with a bloody devil.' A National Covenant was drawn up by the nobles, and was offered to the people for signature in the Greyfriars' Church at Edinburgh, on February 28, 1638. Committees of nobles, gentry, clergy, and citizens, called 'the Tables,' were formed, and these caused the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638 to charge the bishops with various offences. In vain the king dissolved the Assembly. It continued to sit, and it deposed all the bishops from the ministry. The Earl of Argyll, a prominent leader

The Scots rebellion and abolition of Episcopacy.

of the party, was now safe in possession of the lands of four sees, Brechin, Dunkeld, Argyll, and the Isles. It was well said that the nobles left the old Church to win its property, and became Covenanters in order to keep it. Episcopacy was abolished, so far as the Assembly could do it. The bishops were driven from the country, and civil war broke out in 1639. The king was obliged to yield and admit the abolition of Episcopacy. By this time his power in England was also on the verge of total collapse.

In England many different causes led to the downfall of the Church and king. The clergy, seeking an answer to the Jesuit teachings of popular sovereignty so strangely mingled with papal claims, supported the theory of Divine Right, by which it was asserted that the State and its government were too sacred to rest on any arbitrary or popular creation, and must depend solely on a Divine sanction. This theory led to an exaggerated reverence for the monarchy and respect for the personal will of the king. It was supported, often in extreme ways, by the judges, but it was bitterly resented by Parliament. Charles came to conflict several times on matters of taxation with the House of Commons, and the difference was increased by his assertion of absolutist principles. In Church matters a large number of Puritans in Parliament made a great stir. They objected to every one of Laud's measures, sought to reduce outward worship to the coldest ceremonial, and determined to fix upon the Church a Calvinistic interpretation of her formularies. Joined by the party of political advance, the Puritans were also indirectly helped by Laud's personal enemies, such as Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who had procured Archbishop Abbott's suspension from his office in 1621, because he had accidentally shot a keeper, and who expected to succeed to the archbishopric on his death. But most of all the opposition to the rulers of the Church was probably due to the action of the Court of High Commission, which was bitterly resented by lawyers as well as by Puritans. The Court, though legal, was directly contrary to the idea of the English constitution, because it provided a new means of doing what the bishops in their ancient courts were perfectly competent to do. It gave decisions on moral questions which often irritated the rich laity, and it suspended

The rise of opposition in England.

The High Commission.

ministers who would not conform to the orders of the bishops. The punishment of the clergy because they conscientiously disobey the law whether of Church or State has always been dangerous in England ; and when it was sought to exact an oath from all clergy and schoolmasters not to give consent to alter the government of the Church 'by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established,' ridicule was added to the rage which had already found vent in numerous libels.

The High Commission, which claimed a spiritual jurisdiction, and could not touch life or limb, was also in popular estimation linked to a lay court, the Star Chamber, which gave savage punishments for libel and similar offences. The High Commission dealt with cases of nonconformity among the clergy, as well as moral offences among both clergy and laity. Its action was extremely unpopular, as the action of laws in favour of morality too often is ; but the greatest investigator of seventeenth-century history says 'no one who has studied its history will speak of it as a barbarous or even a cruel tribunal.' But the High Commission, because some of its members were the same, and because it was supposed to represent the same idea of arbitrary government, was often at the time, and has often been since, linked to the lay court of Star Chamber. Before this court three notable Puritans were tried for civil offences, and Laud was mixed up as concerned, though he took no part in giving sentence, in the severity of their punishments. William Prynne, a lawyer and antiquary, was sentenced to lose his ears for an attack on stage plays and those who witnessed them, which was considered not obscurely to threaten both king and queen. Three years later he was tried again with Burton, a minister, and Bastwick, a physician, for very violent attacks upon the bishops, and for charging the king and the prelates with an intention to 'change the orthodox religion and introduce Popery.' They were sentenced to lose their ears and be imprisoned for life. In five years they were free, and entered London in triumph, for the political and ecclesiastical system of Charles I. had fallen to the ground.

The Star Chamber.

Throughout the fifteen years when Charles I. reigned in England without outward rebellion, a strong feeling was rising against his

government. Everywhere it was fomented by the Puritans, and every sign of dissatisfaction tended to the advance of that party.

'The Book of Sports.'

When James I. published, and Charles I. reissued, *The Book of Sports*, declaring that on Sundays after divine service the people might engage in games and athletic exercises, it was regarded as an attack on the sanctity of the first day of the week by those who confused the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath. Charles and Laud may have been right in what they did; but undoubtedly their way of doing it was wrong, again and again. The vices of the government which Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth had done so much to strengthen, of arbitrary overbearing action, of interference with opinion, of coercion in religious matters by the arm of the State, brought a natural and inevitable reaction. And this reaction found many supporters among the clergy. Foremost among them was the clever and unscrupulous Bishop Williams, but among them were many men of holy lives, who firmly believed in the Calvinist creed, rejected Episcopacy as the work of the devil, held the Zwinglian view of the Sacraments which the Church condemned, and, strong in the personal assurance of their salvation, believed that no one could be in the right who did not think with them, and determined to root out from English religion everything that offended their convictions.

Strong reaction against Laud's measures.

The unpopularity of the Church government reached a crisis when in 1640 Parliament refused to grant taxes, under the guidance of Puritan leaders attacked the 'innovations in matters of religion,' and was dissolved after the shortest session ever known. They formally objected to the Laudian measures: in return, the Convocation of Canterbury granted taxes to the king from the clergy, while the laity remained untaxed.

In May 1640 the High Commission was mobbed; Lambeth Palace was attacked; crowds of 'prentices went about protesting against the bishops and the Church. In November a new Parliament met. They impeached Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, for his book of *Private Devotions*, which they idly charged with Popery. The impeachment failed. They voted that the canons of the last Convocation were against the king's

The Long Parliament.

prerogative. They received charges from the Scots against Laud, and on December 18, 1640, they impeached him of high treason before the House of Lords. On March 1, 1641, he was committed to the Tower. There he remained for three years without trial. Meanwhile the opponents of the crown were carrying all before them in politics, and the Puritans were making the most of the opportunity in religion. On January 23, 1641, the Commons resolved that commissioners should be sent into the several counties 'to demolish and remove out of churches and chapels all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other monuments of, and relics of, idolatry.'

It was the opening of the floodgates of disorder; what had been spared under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth was now again in danger at the hands of mobs. The contemporary Puritan historian himself wrote that 'with extreme licence the common people took upon themselves the reforming, without authority, order, or decency; rudely disturbing church service while the Common Prayer was reading; tearing their books, surplices, and such things.'

Events hurried on. In the House of Lords a Committee of Religion was appointed. In the Commons a 'Root and Branch Bill' for the abolition of all the government of the Church, as named in the 'et caetera oath,' was introduced, and a resolution was carried in favour of such an abolition. The High Commission, as well as the Star Chamber, was abolished. A violent literary controversy between the bishops Hall and Ussher, both very moderate in their opinions, and five Puritan ministers, whose initials gave the word *smectymnuus*, was waged on the question of Episcopacy. Petitions poured into Parliament for and against the Church government.

The et caetera oath.

A petition from Cheshire declared that 'our pious, ancient, and laudable form of church service' is 'with such general consent received by all the laity, that scarce any family or person that can read but are furnished with the Books of Common Prayer, in the conscionable use whereof many Christian hearts have found unspeakable joy and comfort'; and another, from Somerset, expressed thankfulness for the 'present form of Church government, believing it in our

Petitions and popular agitation.

hearts to be the most pious and the wisest that any people a kingdom hath been blest withal since the apostles' time.' But other petitions sought the abolition of the bishops and the church services, root and branch.

So subtly were the religious questions commingled with the political that the knot could only be untied by the sword. Popular excitement in London reached fever point. A witty writer of the next generation thus satirises the scenes that were to be observed daily in the streets :

> 'The oyster-women locked their fish up
> And trudged away to cry "No bishop";
> Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
> And fell to turn and patch the Church.
> Some cried the Covenant instead
> Of pudding-pies and gingerbread ;
> Instead of kitchen-stuff some cry
> A Gospel-preaching ministry ;
> And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
> No surplices or service-book.'

The bishops, under the leadership of Williams, now Archbishop of York, protested against the proceedings of the House of Lords as illegal owing to their enforced absence. They were called to the bar of the House and sent to the Tower. Then the bill taking away their votes was passed. Further measures of change were hurried through Parliament. In June 1643 it was agreed to summon an Assembly for the discussion of religious questions. It met at Westminster, and contained Scots as well as Englishmen. It drew up a new book of public worship (the Directory, set forth 1645), a form of Church government (Presbyterianism was established by law, 1646), and a Calvinist confession of faith and catechisms (which are still used by the Presbyterians in Scotland). The need for conciliating the Scots made the English Parliament accept, and some of the clergy who were not convinced of the merits of Presbyterianism acquiesce in, the changes which assimilated the English to the Scottish religion as established by law. The clergy who would not give up the Prayer Book were ejected from their livings, and Presbyterian ministers took their places.

Before all these changes had been carried out, Laud was at last executed by bill of attainder, an arbitrary method which avoided all difficulties, though he had not been found guilty at his trial. It was impossible, indeed, to bring anything which he had done within the law of treason. The House of Lords had now not more than a dozen members sitting, for most of them had joined the king in the war. The House of Commons was utterly under the control of the bitterest sectarian feeling, and pledged on war to the knife against all that Charles and Laud held dear. Strafford had been executed as a political foe. Religion now demanded a sacrifice, and Laud fell. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, January 10, 1645, declaring to the last that he had always been loyal to the Church of England. He preached a little sermon on the scaffold on the beautiful text (Hebrews xii. 2) which encourages all sufferers to look to Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our faith. He forgave his enemies, and prayed for the peace of the kingdom. When a bystander asked him 'what was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth?' he replied, '*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*,' and so he passed to his rest. 'Never did man,' says his chaplain, 'put off mortality with a better courage nor look upon his enemies with more Christian charity.' He had prevented the English Church being narrowed into Calvinism: he had always upheld a large liberty of belief among churchmen: he had trained the men who were to bring back the Church and restore her lawful order fifteen years after his death. The Prayer Book had been legally superseded by the Directory just a week before his martyrdom.

Execution of Laud.

Four years later Charles himself came to the block. As his forces gradually lost ground and the fortunes of war turned against him, he had been involved in many negotiations, having for their object a religious settlement which should sacrifice the Church. He hoped to play off the Presbyterians and the Independents against each other, trusting through their disputes to save something for the old religion. He wrote in April 1646 a vow to restore all Church lands if he should be restored to 'his just kingly rights,' and gave the promise secretly to the keeping of Sheldon. It was only by

Execution of Charles I., January 30, 1649.

the advice of Juxon, Bishop of London, and Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, that he was ready to 'permit for a time the exercise of the Directory for worship and practice of discipline.' The strong mind of Cromwell saw that his death was essential to the success of Puritanism. In his last days Charles made choice of Juxon to attend upon him, 'whom for many years he had known to be a pious and learned divine, and able to administer ghostly comfort to his soul.' 'There is but one stage more; it is turbulent and troublesome. It is a short one, but it will carry you a very great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven. You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown' were the last words of the good bishop, and Charles from the hour of his death was felt by many of the people to have fallen a martyr for the English Church. The publication within a few weeks of his execution of *Eikon Basilike*, a clever representation of his thoughts and prayers, written by his chaplain, Dr. Gauden, but generally believed to be his own, was enthusiastically received, and the true loyalty of 'Church and king's men,' as opposed to Popery and Puritanism, seemed to be consecrated by the blood of the king.

During the years which followed, the Church of England was outside the protection of the law. It was illegal to use the Prayer Book, to observe Christmas Day, to be married by any one but a justice of the peace. The clergy for the most part lived in poverty and concealment, teaching children or acting as chaplains in private houses. Some conformed to the new establishment. But Presbyterianism was never popular in England. Its system was too rigid and too searching for ordinary men, its theology was too stern and narrow.

The Church under the Commonwealth.

When Oliver Cromwell came to power, the chief influence in religion fell into the hands of the Independents, a republican party in Church and State, who allowed each congregation practically to choose its own teaching. A Committee of Triers was appointed in 1654 to license ministers, and other committees were given power to turn out those who were considered insufficient. These powers were interpreted widely, and thus the benefices and churches began to pass into the hands of the Independents, the predecessors of the modern Congregationalists. Puritanism was supreme, and outwardly England was coerced into strict and sombre submission.

In 1649 an Act was passed 'for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales,' which appointed a commission of seventy-two persons to eject all clergy who would not take the covenant and use the Directory. The churches of North Wales suffered severely during the Civil Wars, and the cathedral church of S. Asaph was used as a stable for the horses of a postmaster, who fed his calves in the bishop's throne and took the font for a watering trough. Yet some of the clergy, says a contemporary, 'were never ousted, and some that were ejected would sometimes preach to please some of their old parishioners who would hear none else preach.'

The religious history of these years may be thus hastily compressed, not because there was not much religious zeal shown, or many good men among the Presbyterians and Independents, who now ruled, but because the National Church, with its apostolic ministry and full Christian teaching, was for the time silenced; and it is with the history of the Church alone that we are concerned in this book.

At first sight it might seem that politics disestablished the Church, and politics restored it. But this is not the whole truth. There was an intense moral force in Puritanism, an intense belief in literal obedience to the Bible as interpreted by Calvinists, a passionate revolt against the order and system of the ancient and reformed Church. But when Puritanism came into power, it was found unable to convert the souls of men more surely than the old religion, as it was unable to replace the Prayer Book in their affections. Milton, the greatest of Puritan writers, found that 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large'; Englishmen in general revolted against a sternness which seemed to them to be hypocritical; everywhere there was confusion where there might have been peace. Presbyterians themselves came to prefer the Church to Independency. The new forms of Church government were tried and found wanting, and the people welcomed back with acclamations, in 1660, the Church as well as the king. The bishops who still survived at the Restoration returned to their sees. They had most of them been trained by Laud, and they were all of them imbued with his attachment to the Church and her ancient order. Juxon, his

The Restoration.

lifelong friend, who as Bishop of London had attended King Charles I. on the scaffold, became Archbishop of Canterbury. Other men of learning and judgment were appointed to the vacant sees.

From 1660 to 1662 the constitution of the English Church received what was in many respects its final settlement. The clergy who had been ejected since 1645 were restored to their livings, by Act of Parliament. By the same power the bishops were restored to the House of Lords, and the property of the cathedrals, bishoprics, and parishes was restored to them. A conference was held in London, at the Savoy, to discuss the differences between the Puritans and the Church. This served to make clear how fundamental were the differences which separated them. It had been thought at first that it would not be difficult to make changes which would satisfy all; but it was soon seen that this was impossible. James Sharp, sent by the Scots to represent their views in London, wrote: 'I find the Presbyterian cause wholly given up or lost.' This was partly because of the strong feeling of the mass of English folk for the Church, partly because of the irreconcilable position taken up by the sectaries. The Puritans demanded the withdrawal from the Prayer Book of many statements of historic Christian teaching (such as the regeneration of baptized infants, forms of confirmation, ordination, and the like), and of ceremonies (such as kneeling, and the sign of the cross) connected with that teaching, and of the vestments ordered by the 'Ornaments rubric' since the time of Elizabeth. It was found impossible to combine the opposite opinions, and the result was a division which lasts to this day.

The Savoy Conference.

The Restoration settlement was completed by a final revision of the Prayer Book by the Convocations, assented to by the king, and made law by Act of Parliament. Considerable alterations were made by the revisers, and they were all in the direction of simplicity, with emphasis on ancient customs and usages (as in the more frequent use of the word 'priest,' the addition of a table of fasts, of several names to the Calendar, and the revision of and addition to the instruction on the Sacraments in the Catechism). The 'Ornaments rubric,' requiring the use of the ornaments of the Church and of the minister in use by the authority of Parliament in the second

Revision of the Prayer Book.

year of Edward VI. was, in spite of the Puritan objection and discussion, retained, with no reference to these ornaments ever having been disused. The book received a thorough discussion and revision, and after two months' consideration in the king's council it was accepted by Parliament in an Act of Uniformity, and was ordered to be used from S. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. It was further ordered that the Prayer Book should be translated into 'the British or Welsh tongue,' and used throughout Wales.

The Restoration settlement was the work of men such as those who all along had guided the Church through her long period of reformation. Everything which seemed to belong to the primitive doctrine of the Church was reasserted, and all such ancient and beautiful customs, or ritual, as had not been degraded or misrepresented through superstitious use, were retained.

In her relation to the State the Church remained as of old. The only change was that by an agreement between Sheldon, Juxon's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the right of the clergy to tax themselves separately in their Convocations was given up.

We have next to trace the effects of this final settlement upon the religion of the country.

The Restoration settlement recognised, what had long been a fact, that there were a number of dissenters, besides the Roman Catholics, who did not conform to the worship or accept the doctrines of the English Church. Church writers had pleaded for toleration for them. Oliver Cromwell, though he had given no toleration to English churchmen or Romanists, had preserved the freedom of many sorts of Protestant nonconformists. Charles II. had promised and wished to grant freedom of worship. But the majority of lay people in 1662 were in no mood for toleration of any form of dissent. Parliament considered that nonconformists were a danger to the State. The connection between religion and politics in the Civil War could not be forgotten. The State seemed to require the support of a National Church, and the House of Commons considered that it could best support both State and Church by persecuting those whom it believed to be dangerous. The result of the Acts now passed was to turn the nonconformists into separated bodies of dissenters.

The first and necessary step after the issue of the revised Prayer Book was to require all clergy to use it. That it should be duly used, it was necessary that all ministers should receive ordination from a bishop. Thus all those—Independents, Presbyterians, and members of many new sects (such as Quakers)—who would not accept the Orders of the apostolic ministry or use the Book of Common Prayer, had of necessity to retire from their benefices and endowments. This was inevitable and right. But it was not right, though it was inevitable in the state of feeling of the vast majority of Englishmen, that the dissenters should suffer persecution. It was the result of the age-long custom which the State had never abandoned. As the Parliament of Henry IV. had punished the Lollards, as Henry VIII. had punished those who refused to accept the royal supremacy, as Mary had killed those who would not accept the doctrine of transubstantiation, and Elizabeth those who upheld the jurisdiction of the Pope, as Oliver Cromwell proscribed and imprisoned churchmen and Romanists, so the Parliaments of Charles II., wildly enthusiastic for the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State, passed laws, as their passion or fear dictated, against all dissenters from the established order. Four Acts in particular must be mentioned.

Expulsion of nonconformists.

The Act of Uniformity (1661) not only enforced the use of the Prayer Book, but required all lay folk to attend the Church services under pain of imprisonment. The Corporation Act (1661) excluded dissenters from municipal office. The Conventicle Act (1664) forbade all meeting for worship apart from the church under harsh penalties. The enforcing of the Act depended on the action of the local justices of the peace, often ignorant and prejudiced men whose attachment to the Church was influenced not a little by memory of their own sufferings during the Commonwealth. The Five Mile Act (1665) obliged all dissenting ministers either to take an oath not to attempt to alter the Constitution in Church or State, or not to come within five miles of a town. All these were dictated by fear of a new revolution of Protestant sectaries, and even before they were in force country magistrates arrested and imprisoned dissenting preachers, as they arrested in 1660 John Bunyan whose

Repressive acts.

Pilgrim's Progress is the greatest of English allegories. But for the persecution he received, and if only his case had been known to the highest authorities of the Church, it is not unlikely that Bunyan might never have left the Church in which he was brought up. However that may be, the power and beauty of his immortal book was soon perceived, and it has remained a precious treasure to Church folk as well as to dissenters to this day. It serves, as so many a good book and holy life have served, to draw together in prayer those whose teaching differs in detail.

John Bunyan.

Romanist dissenters were no less feared than Protestants. The Test Act (1673) was passed in terror of the Roman Catholics, when a pretended Popish Plot to murder the king and the chief officers of State was imposed on the credulity of Parliament and people by the knavery of a renegade named Titus Oates. This Act declared that no man could hold any military or civil office unless he received the Holy Communion according to the use of the Church of England, and signed a declaration against transubstantiation. The object of all these Acts was to carry out the popular will, that those who ruled the country or served the State should be members of the National Church, and it was believed that only such would accept her Sacraments. The test seemed the simplest that could be thought of. But it proved that there were unconscientious dissenters; and men profaned the most sacred ordinance of religion by making it 'a picklock to a place.' The only safeguard against sacrilege was the requirement of the Prayer Book that no notorious evil-liver should be admitted to communion with the Church; and the charity or timidity of the clergy forbade the frequent enforcement of this rule.

The Test Act.

Charles was always anxious to give toleration. He issued a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 suspending all penalties against dissenters, but Parliament declared it illegal. He was himself desirous to unite the English Church with Rome, and his ambassadors obtained schemes for allowing the services to be in English and the clergy to be married; but the Church was not concerned in the negotiation, and Charles, after drawing nearer and nearer to the religion of his

Charles's attempts to grant toleration.

mother, his brother, and his sister, promised the French king, Louis XIV., by the secret treaty of Dover in 1670, to declare himself a Romanist, and in 1685 died in the communion of Rome.

Charles's desire for toleration was not shared in the least degree by the majority of Englishmen, or by his Parliaments. Rejoicing in the quietness that had fallen upon the land, in the restoration of the old, simple, and dignified services, the laity were much of the same mind as their ancestors under Queen Elizabeth. They thoroughly distrusted the Roman Catholics, because they thought they were pledged to uphold the Pope's political interference and were under the control of the Jesuits whose intrigues had become a byword. They thought the Presbyterian system meddlesome, and the Independents lawless. And they genuinely admired, if they did not appreciate, the solid learning and holy lives of the leaders of the Church.

The reign of Charles II. was the second Age of the Caroline divines. Between John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, and John Pearson, Bishop of Chester, and those who clustered round Andrewes and Laud, there was an absolute unity of teaching and principle. All were alike students of the old learning, of the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers and the Councils, strong opponents of Popery, strong defenders of the Protestantism which stood out against the errors of Rome, and firm in their adherence to the discipline as well as the doctrine of the Church. Under Cosin the north of England was kept strictly, perhaps rigorously, to the rules of the Prayer Book. The vestments, private confession, obedience to the rule of fasting, were retained, as indeed they still were in many parts of England, and the old Prayer Book language remained, as it still in many places remains, natural to the lips of the people. Of Jeremy Taylor contemporaries speak in language of enthusiastic eulogy, and those who read his books must share in the admiration for his deep piety and his rich and solemn style.

The Caroline divines and their influence on the religion of the nation.

The Restoration was followed by a reaction against the out-

ward severity of Puritanism, and the court of Charles II. set a shameful example of vice, which was too often followed. But the time showed many examples of holy life. During the Great Plague much devotion was shown in London both by clergy and laity. Daily service, according to the rule of the Prayer Book, was constantly said in the churches. At Westminster Abbey it was said at six o'clock in the morning, and the hours generally were early. Among the faithful laity the names stand out of John Evelyn and Izaak Walton, the first a gentleman of position who was high in favour with the king without ever abandoning his quiet Christian life; the second a tradesman who was the friend of the greatest writers of the age, 'and well known and as well loved by all good men.' It was an age also of great preachers. South for wit, Stillingfleet for eloquence, Ken for pure piety, Barrow for solid learning and strength, left names which were famous for many generations. Barrow, whom Charles II. made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a man of wide knowledge and experience of life, well acquainted with the Eastern Churches and understanding Popery 'at home and abroad.' Ken had been chaplain to Mary, Princess of Orange, had won, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, the love and admiration of all churchmen by his simple holy life, his strenuous defence of morality in a corrupt age, and his unwearying discharge of his duties. George Bull, who in his old age became Bishop of S. David's, was more famed as a theologian than a preacher. Bossuet, with other great French prelates, formally thanked him for his defence of the Catholic creeds.

In Wales the Church had been welcomed back as gladly as in England. After the Restoration the great bishop Isaac Barrow restored the cathedral church of S. Asaph. His tomb near the west door long recorded his request for the prayers of posterity. His successor, it is clear, took zealous care for the diocese, and reports of different dates show that the people were loyal to the Church. The standard of learning in Wales was probably not low. It is noted that during the seventeenth century eighteen Welshmen became bishops of the Welsh sees, four of English, and four of Irish sees. At the end of the century, however, two gross cases of simony occurred, Bishop Lloyd of S. Asaph

The Church in Wales.

being suspended, and Bishop Watson of S. David's being deprived for thus trafficking in the offices of the Church.

The fifty years that followed the Restoration showed the influence of the Church in every side of public life. The study of antiquity and of the customs of foreign Churches was pursued by many eminent scholars: and in England antiquaries studied to preserve in record, if not as they stood, the ancient arrangements and ceremonial of the churches. The age which began to take an interest in old churches was also the age of the great English architect Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723). The nephew of Bishop Wren of Ely, he remained throughout his life a devout and simple-minded Christian layman. His chief architectural works, the churches in London, which preserve the memory of a style distinctively English in its adaptation of classical and Italian methods to the needs of English worship, belong to the later years of his life, but it was during the reign of Charles II. that the great fire of London, which destroyed eighty-nine churches, gave him the opportunity on which his fame rests. From 1666 to 1711 he designed and built fifty-three parish churches in London, besides repairing many others, and in the country also he did an extensive work. In the time of Laud, Inigo Jones had tacked on a wonderful portico to the mediæval cathedral church of S. Paul in London. The 'restoration,' a work which Laud had taken up warmly, cost over £100,000. The whole was destroyed in the fire, and it was the genius of Wren which raised up the magnificent building which now stands on the site. It is a perfect expression of the seventeenth-century ideal of worship, solemn, dignified, open, fit for the Common Prayer of a great city, no longer cloistered or separate like so much of the worship of the mediæval Church.

Sir Christopher Wren.

While the National Church thus exercised a commanding influence on the nation, she was not without dangers new as well as old. The unjust laws which the State passed to protect her privileges raised against her an animosity more political than religious, but increased as the years went on by the growing divergence among the sects from the primary articles of faith from which the first Puritans had not dissented. But the first danger was from Rome.

James II. (1685-1688) had been a Roman Catholic for many years. At first he promised to maintain the Church, saying that he would always 'defend and support' her. He soon began, almost without concealment, to try to bring back the Pope's authority. Roman chapels were set up in many parts of London. The king re-established, by his own sole authority, the Court of High Commission, with power to visit all dioceses and change all college statutes. Sancroft, the saintly Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to act upon it, but Bishop Sprat of Rochester, and Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, lent themselves, with the notorious Lord Chancellor Jeffreys and others, to do the king's will. Bishop Compton of London, who had protested against the king's action, was suspended. James claimed a power to dispense with the laws in certain cases, appointed Roman Catholics to posts in the army, and even to offices in the universities which could only lawfully be held by clergy of the English Church. The most arbitrary case was the suspension of the lawfully elected Dr. Hough, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and the substitution of a nominee of the crown. At Christ Church and University College Papists were given office, and the Roman mass was said. James had attempted to win over the dissenters to his side by issuing a new declaration suspending all the penal laws, and he ordered in May 1688 that it should be read in all churches. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, with six bishops, petitioned the king against his illegal command. The petition was declared by James to be a libel ; and the Archbishop, with Bishops Ken (Bath and Wells), Lake (Chichester), Lloyd (S. Asaph), Trelawney (Bristol), Turner (Ely), and White (Peterborough), were tried for their courageous act. As they were taken by water from Whitehall to the Tower, the banks were crowded with people who fell on their knees as they passed, begged their blessing, and prayed for their deliverance. Every effort was made to induce them to yield, but in vain. No more dramatic scene ever happened in English history than that on the morning of June 30, 1688, when the jury, after being locked up all night, came into court to deliver their verdict. The greatest statesmen of England were present, and the people thronged every approach to the court

The new danger from Rome.

The Seven Bishops.

to hear the bishops' fate. They were acquitted, and the whole nation rejoiced with the Church which had again championed the national liberties.

Within a few weeks James fled at the approach of William of Orange, who had married his daughter Mary, and the crown was conferred on them as king and queen. This was the Revolution of 1688.

In Scotland the measures of Charles II. and James II. had also prepared a Revolution. In 1661 the Scots Episcopacy was restored by the Scots Parliament, the Rescissory Act repealing all the legislation of the last twenty-one years. Bishops were consecrated to fill the vacant sees by a commission issued to Sheldon, 'so that it be not prejudicial to the privileges of the Church of Scotland,' James Sharp, who had been a prominent Presbyterian, being appointed to the primatial see of S. Andrews. It is said that he 'did more harm to Episcopacy by adopting it than he did to Presbytery by deserting it.' He encouraged the severest measures against the Covenanters, and involved the Church in the odium caused by the repressive measures of the State. In Scotland, even more than in England, Presbyterianism was believed to be a political danger, and the constant correspondence between Archbishop Sheldon and the Scottish bishops shows the attention paid to 'the forward humour of our phanaticks' as well as to the sad condition of the 'poor orthodox clergy.'

The Restoration in Scotland.

The restoration of Episcopacy was welcomed in the north of Scotland, but disliked in the south and west. The Prayer Book was not enforced, and it appears that many of the ministers had not received Episcopal ordination, and many lost their benefices by refusing to admit the lawfulness of Episcopacy. Still, nearly six hundred ministers conformed to the Church. But soon the Parliament passed Acts as severe as the English acts against dissenters, and a Mile Act, even more stringent than the English Five Mile Act, was put in force. The High Commission was revived and ordered to proceed against all Papists and keepers of conventicles. Rebellions broke out in the south and west. The Solemn League and Covenant was revived, and a strong party of opposition to the severe rule of

Repressive acts.

Charles's Scots ministers was formed. Acts, harsher and more stringent, were passed by Parliament against the sectaries, and non-conforming ministers were imprisoned on the desolate Bass Rock. In spite of this, conventicles multiplied. At last a crisis came. Some Covenanters murdered Archbishop Sharp in 1679. Archbishop Leighton, the most saintly of the prelates, resigned his see in despair at being unable to carry any compromise or to prevent the persecution. The battle of Bothwell Brig, 1679, in which the Covenanters were defeated, was followed by an attempt to pacify the dissenters by an Indemnity Act. But the endeavours to enforce the royal supremacy caused dissatisfaction on all sides, and the end of Charles II.'s reign left the Church in confusion and the nation almost at war.

The Revolution in Scotland.

James II. tried to set up Romanism, and the bishops who opposed him were deposed. When the king fled the south rose against the clergy. More than two hundred incumbents were 'rabbled' (turned out of their houses and ill-treated). In July 1689, Episcopacy was disestablished, mainly, it would seem, because the bishops and many of the clergy refused to take the oaths to the new Government. Presbyterianism was legally established in 1690, and has remained in power ever since.

The bishops and clergy lost their position partly through the staunch Protestantism of the south, partly through their loyalty to the Stewarts. For many years they and their flocks formed the majority of the people. They were subjected to severe persecution, which in the end was successful, and within fifty years of the Revolution Scotland had become outwardly a nation of Presbyterians.

The Revolution of 1688, which told so harshly against the Church in Scotland, might have been expected to benefit the English Church. It was the attack on the Church more than anything else which had lost James II. his crown. The Seven Bishops were felt to be the defenders of the liberty of the people even more than of the Church. But the political settlement of the kingdom passed entirely into the hands of the Whig lords, Sancroft held aloof, and the clergy were soon thrown into the greatest perplexity as to their duty in face of the deposition of James II. The new king

Effects of the Revolution of 1688.

was a Dutch Calvinist, and though a man of bad life, was a strong Protestant. His wife, Queen Mary, was much attached to the saintly Ken, who had been her chaplain, but William would not tolerate reproof, and so kept the best of the clergy at a distance. The Whig party, which had most influence with him, was not inclined to support the Church; and many of the clergy believed that it was their duty to remain loyal to the exiled king. This caused the schism of the nonjurors. The State required an oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Archbishop Sancroft, five of the bishops (four of whom had been among the famous Seven), and over four hundred clergy, besides many laity, considered that they could not break from their allegiance to James. The nonjuring clergy were ejected from their cures and the bishops from their sees. Sancroft and Ken, two of the most saintly bishops by whom the Church of England has ever been ruled, died in retirement. A schism was caused which seriously threatened the stability of the Church. Those who seceded were often men of learning, and generally men of holy life. They devoted themselves to study, and produced liturgical work of great value. They attempted to bridge the gulf which separated England from the Eastern Church. They did valuable work as teachers and chaplains. But eventually they suffered from the secret, half-despised nature of their position, and in the second generation too often sank into mere dependants. At length the nonjurors split among themselves, but still continued to consecrate and ordain, and to keep apart from the National Church, till the last of their bishops died in 1805.

The nonjurors.

The majority of the clergy and bishops accepted the change of government, rightly believing that the duty of the Church was to minister to the people without concerning herself with political changes. But William distrusted the clergy as High Churchmen and Tories. He endeavoured to pass a Comprehension Bill, to admit dissenters to the Church, but the Church party was still by far the most numerous in Parliament, and the House of Commons refused to make any changes without the consent of Convocation, a constitutional act which again saved the Church from the arbitrary power of the crown. This important assertion of the right of Convocation to govern the Church under the authority

of the Crown showed that the national representatives were determined to preserve the ancient constitution and the right of each estate of the realm. It was seen that those who had expelled James, as well as those who still believed him to be lawfully king, were firm in their attachment to the National Church which he had tried to destroy. The danger of the Church brought back to their seats many members of the Commons who had seceded in disgust at the revolution in the State. A Toleration Act was however passed which gave freedom of worship to Protestant but not to Romanist dissenters. The rule of the Church passed into the hands of bishops who were in favour with the king, and of moderate opinions, such as Tillotson, Dean of S. Paul's, who took a leading part in the first measures of the reign, and was made archbishop on Sancroft's deprivation by the State, in 1691, and Gilbert Burnet, a Scotsman who had done good work as a parish priest and divinity professor in Scotland, and after becoming chaplain to William of Orange was made Bishop of Salisbury. A commission was appointed to discuss alterations in the Prayer Book with a view to admit the 'Protestant dissenters' to union with the Church. The greatest excitement was shown in the election of proctors for the clergy in Convocation. There was a vigorous pamphlet warfare. The strong feeling against Romanism which was seen in the coronation oath of the new king and queen (a definite denial of Roman claims, describing the religion of the English Church as 'Protestant Reformed') was regarded by the king and his advisers as justifying them in frowning upon everything which emphasised the Catholic character of the Church of England. They ignored the fact that it was by bishops of the most Catholic views that James had been most strongly resisted.

Anti-Catholic policy of William III.

William III., who took but a tepid interest in Church matters, attempted to rule the Church by means of royal injunctions, a method of expressing the royal wishes which was permissible in the time of Elizabeth, but intolerable in days when constitutional order was more strictly maintained. The Convocations, though the formal summons was issued to them, were not allowed to meet. The rights of the clergy were

Disputes in Convocation.

vindicated in a pamphlet called *A Letter to a Convocation Man*, by Sir Bartholomew Shower, a lawyer, in which he declared that 'to confer, debate, and resolve without the king's licence is, at common law, the undoubted right of Convocation.' He was answered by Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who argued that the licence to sit and debate depended entirely on the king's will. The controversy was continued by Dr. Francis Atterbury, a famous scholar and wit, and by Burnet and others. The result was to show the Government that it was not safe any longer to stifle the public voice of the Church, and in 1701 the Convocations were allowed to sit. Their session led at once to a quarrel between the two Houses of the Province of Canterbury. Tillotson had died in 1694 and was succeeded by Thomas Tenison. He was a mild man, who was ready to take his opinions on many matters from the crown. His prorogation of the Convocation was met on the part of the Lower House by a refusal to dissolve. A bitter wrangle occurred as to the legal question involved, and the Lower House created a diversion also by attacking a free-thinking book by Toland, a Fellow of All Souls at Oxford, and accusing Bishop Burnet of heresy. In 1702 the death of King William terminated for the time what had been a very bitter dispute. The energies of the clergy seemed to have been dissipated in public discussion.

None the less, the reign of William III. was a time of great spiritual activity. It was the time of the foundation of the great religious societies which have done such magnificent work for the Church at home and abroad, and from which so many other organisations for good works have sprung. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701, and within the same period many societies for the reformation of public morals were begun and did good work. It was an age also of good books. Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* were popular among all classes. *The Whole Duty of Man* was a religious book published anonymously which had an enormous sale for many years. Cosin's *Devotions* were still used, and Comber helped to the understanding of the Book of Common Prayer. From this time to the middle of the eighteenth century

The religious societies.

the supply of good devotional books, besides many works of controversy with Romanist and Protestant dissenters, never ceased. Best of all, perhaps, was the work of a nonjuror, William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, one of the most impressive as well as the most witty books of an age of clever writers, and one which has by no means lost its freshness or its force to-day.

With the accession of Queen Anne, 1702, the Church came once more into favour with the Crown. The queen was a devout churchwoman, and told Parliament that 'upon all occasions of promotion to any ecclesiastical dignity she would have a just regard for those who were eminent and remarkable for their piety, learning, and constant zeal for the Church.' She was the granddaughter of Lord Clarendon, who had been the friend and admirer of Laud. She strictly obeyed the Church's rules, was directed in her spiritual life by Archbishop Sharp of York, and always treated the Church's ministers with scrupulous respect. Her court was an example of virtue which had long been needed in high places. Her people loved her, and she expressed their feelings and prejudices better perhaps than any sovereign had done since Queen Elizabeth. Her practical work for the Church was considerable. William III. had appointed a commission of six Whig bishops to advise on Church preferment. Anne dissolved it, and she exercised herself the right of patronage with discretion and wisdom. In 1704 she gave up the right of the crown to the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices (which had at one time been paid to the Pope, and since 1535 to the crown), thus founding the fund for Church purposes which is known as Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1710 an Act was passed for building fifty-two new churches in London, but only twelve were built.

Queen Anne, 1702-1704.

During Anne's reign (1702-1714) several attempts were made by the House of Commons to remedy the scandal caused by the evasion of the Test Act. It was proposed to prevent 'occasional conformity' (*i.e.* the receiving of the Holy Communion by dissenters on a single occasion, to qualify themselves for office) by requiring more frequent communion, as demanded by the Prayer Book from all members of the Church, thus apparently securing that only *bonâ fide* churchmen should hold office under the State. But all the

bills passed by the House of Commons were rejected by the Lords, and the scandal remained till the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. The Church feeling of the House of Commons was shown in an exaggerated form by the Lower House of Convocation, which claimed an independence of the Upper House similar to that enjoyed by the Commons in Parliament. So sharp was the contention that the queen was induced severely to censure the Lower House, and the Convocation was prorogued to stop the disputes.

Church feeling.

It was about this time that the names of 'High' and 'Low began to be bandied about as badges of party feeling. They were at present roughly correspondent to the political divisions of Whigs and Tories, and the 'Low' Churchmen were often also called 'latitude-men' because of the slight hold which some of them possessed on the cardinal points of the Christian faith. The popular feeling was shown in the violent agitation all over the country in favour of Dr. Sacheverell, who was impeached by the House of Commons in 1710 for a sermon directed against those who were 'resolved to bring the Church into the conventicle' and would do 'by moderation and occasional conformity' what could not be done 'by comprehension and toleration.' Public feeling rose to an extraordinary height. The cry of 'the Church in danger' was raised with prodigious effect. In London mobs surrounded Westminster Hall while the trial took place; the queen's coach was stopped, and the crowd cried, 'God save your Majesty. We hope your Majesty is for High Church and Dr. Sacheverell.' So great was the enthusiasm for his opinions, that the Lords were obliged to let Sacheverell off with a light sentence. Everywhere the Church and the clergy, save only the Whig bishops, were at the height of popularity. The strong feeling of the country showed itself in Parliament, which in 1713 passed an Occasional Conformity Act and a Schism Act, to prevent the foundation of schools by dissenters.

The Sacheverell trial.

Such bitterness naturally led to a reaction. It was feared that the clergy and the Tories would welcome back James, son of James II., even if he would not renounce Romanism, and when (by the Act of Settlement passed under William III.) George,

Elector of Hanover, ascended the throne on the death of Anne, the Church passed under the control of those whose chief aim was to keep well with the Government.

Meanwhile, in Scotland, the condition of those who still held to the ancient Episcopal order was sad indeed. Under William III. the majority of the clergy who would not accept the Presbyterian establishment remained firm in attachment to the old dynasty. Probably still more than two-thirds of the people held aloof from the Presbyterian worship. But the Government was carried on entirely in the Presbyterian interest. The Episcopalian clergy were not only deprived of their benefices, but submission to the Presbyterian form of government was required from all professors in the universities. Acts were passed again and again to secure the Presbyterians in their position. But the clergy still continued to minister in spite of the law in many parishes where the people would not allow them to be disturbed. In 1707 there were a hundred and sixty-five of them, who had been ordained by the bishops, still holding their cures, and in 1710 there were a hundred and thirteen north of the Tay. Legally they were not allowed to baptize, marry, preach or bury, but they still held out, though they had no toleration for their worship. After the Union by Acts of the two Parliaments in 1707, which guaranteed the establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk, rioting had 'spread from parish to parish.' Attempts were made on the one hand to turn out the clergy in districts strongly favourable to them, and on the other, in Presbyterian districts, to expel the last traces of Episcopal order. The bishops and clergy begged the help of Queen Anne in 'the deplorable condition of the once National Church since the suppression of its apostolic government.' In 1712 an Act of Parliament was at last passed giving freedom of worship to 'those of the Episcopal communion in Scotland.' This toleration did not last for long. With the death of Anne a new and worse persecution began.

The Scots Church under William and Anne.

In 1714 the line of the Stewarts ceased to rule over the two kingdoms now united. The century during which they had been sovereigns of England and Scotland had been one of great importance for the Church. When it began, England was apparently

strong in attachment to the Church as settled under Elizabeth, free from Papist and Puritan innovation. When it ended, the Church was perhaps higher in popular favour than she had ever been, but the favour was to some extent dependent on political considerations, and there were many threatening signs on the horizon. It is not good for the Church when all men speak well of her, and still less happy when men try to make her cause the badge of a party.

The seventeenth-century Church.

But none the less it is impossible to doubt the good that had been done by the revival of Church life in the time of Laud, or the restoration of Church order under Sheldon and Sancroft. The life of George Herbert and the circle of poets and priests who knew and loved him, would in itself be a proof that in the days of Charles I. the beauty of holiness was recognised and loved as much as it has ever been since Christ set up His standard before the world. The life of these men was full, like Herbert's picture of 'a priest to the Temple,' of a sweet reasonableness. They entered into life as humane partakers of the enjoyment God gives in the pure things of the earth and sky. Nature, the soul of man, divine grace, all met for them, in the work they had to do, as things to be thought upon continually and prayed over; and the gifts of God all through life, though they were to be taken with thanksgiving, were yet to be given up when the wisdom of the Church's order directed the abstinence. So Herbert wrote:

The clergy of Laud's day.

> 'Welcome, dear feast of Lent. Who loves not thee
> He loves not temperance or authority.'

The Church services in those days were very simple. Certainly, in many places, in most of the cathedral churches, in the royal chapels, and in colleges, copes and other vestments were worn. At great festivals, as George Herbert says, even in country places, the Church was 'strawed and stuck with boughs and perfumed with incense,' and the altar had 'an handsome and seemly carpet of good and costly stuff, or cloth.' Laud's rule was that of S. Paul, that all things be done decently and in order: and that rule the clergy of his day strove to

The Church services.

bring into the Church and into the life of home, that there might be

> 'No cruel guard of diligent cares that keep
> Crown'd woes awake, as things too wise for sleep;
> But reverent discipline, and religious fear,
> And soft obedience, find sweet biding here;
> Silence and sacred rest; peace and pure joys,
> Kind loves keep house, lie close, and make no noise.'

It was a rude awakening when civil war swept over the land, and the clergy were turned from their homes and their churches were defiled to base uses. It is difficult to calculate the harm that was done in those days of strife. The beautiful and characteristic English Church music that had been developed since the Reformation received a rude check, in the days when Cromwell would stop the choral services with an order to 'cease the fooling and come down,' and when the choir of S. Paul's was turned into a barracks for his troopers' horses. The iconoclasm of the Puritans and the prohibition of the Common Prayer left the churches lying 'sordid' and 'nasty.' The Restoration at once set the clergy and the generous laity, such as Evelyn and Nelson, to work on the rebuilding and beautifying of churches and the restoration of the dignity of worship. Still the greatest simplicity was observed. Incense was used only on great occasions, and the bishops rarely wore their mitres except at coronations. Generally the parish clergy used the surplice alone, with the hood of their degree, while doctors and chaplains wore also a broad black scarf. Daily services in towns were well attended, and in the country the bishops directed the clergy to say the morning and evening prayer in their churches according to the order of the Prayer Book. Outward reverence was still often lacking, as it is to this day in so many continental countries, but observances were becoming more strict, and William III. gave great offence because he would wear his hat in church. Two candles were still, as under Edward VI., commonly upon the altar; and more were added on occasions of ceremony.

The destruction in the wars.

Effects of the Restoration.

It is perhaps a proof of the high importance which was attached

to the Church, that now we begin to find general complaints of the low estimation in which her ministers were held. It is clear that there never was a time in the history of the English Church when ordination was not sought by men of high family: Nevile in Henry VI.'s reign, Herbert in Charles I.'s, Compton in Charles II.'s, are notable examples of what was never uncommon. But, on the other hand, both before and after the Reformation, the majority of the clergy came from among the middle classes, the higher standard of education required, after the Reformation, tending to keep out those who earlier would have entered the ministry through the monastic or mendicant orders. In the seventeenth century it was by no means uncommon for the younger sons of important families to become tradesmen, and thus the comparison of the clergy to the trading classes need excite no surprise. But there seems to have been a large number of clergy for whom no employment, or but a menial one, could be found. As domestic chaplains they had a very small salary, and a life very like that of a servant. Satirists contrast the humility of the English clergy with the position of the Papists, who were found in many parts of England in Anne's reign. 'What would a Roman Catholic priest think,' wrote Steele, in the *Tatler* in 1710, '(who is always helped first and placed next the ladies) should he see a clergyman giving his company the slip at the first appearance of the tarts or sweetmeats? Would he not believe that he had the same antipathy to a candied orange or a piece of puff paste as some have to a Cheshire cheese or a breast of mutton?' The Church as a whole was poor. The unhappy custom of giving to distinguished clergymen many benefices, as the only means of adequate remuneration, led to their being obliged to provide for several parishes by ill-paid resident curates: and where so many of the gentry had chaplains of their own, the intercourse between the squire and the parson in country places was often but slight. The ignorance of some as well as the poverty of others were the reasons assigned for what Bishop Stillingfleet described as 'the contempt of the clergy, too notorious not to be observed.' But it must always be remembered that the very complaints are a sign of the higher estimation in which the ministers of the Gospel had come to be held in

Social position of the clergy.

the seventeenth century as compared, for example, with the tenth, the twelfth, the fifteenth, or the sixteenth. And the sharpest contemporary critic declared (in 1670) that 'the ordinary sort of our English clergy do far excel in learning the common priests of the Church of Rome,' and Bishop Atterbury asserted later that 'for depth of learning, as well as other things, the English clergy is not to be paralleled in the whole Christian world.'

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The accession of George I., a foreign Protestant with no knowledge of the English language or interest in the English people, guided solely by the company of aristocratic Whigs who had secured to him the throne, was disastrous to the outward position of the English Church. Perhaps even more disastrous was the loyal attachment of many good clergy and churchmen to the banished house of Stewart. James II. and his son and grandsons remained firm in their loyalty to the papal religion, and it was the constant aim of their English opponents to blacken their supporters with a wholly baseless charge of Popery. These were but two of the reasons which tended to lower the position of the Church from the death of Queen Anne to the death of George III., and to make the eighteenth century for the most part a period of deadness in the history of the Church in England as well as across the northern border.

The Hanoverian Succession.

The schism of the nonjurors was a real loss to the vitality of the Church. Some of the holiest of the clergy were removed not only from party strife but from active conflict with the sins of the age. Sancroft died in his little country cottage at Fressingfield, forgotten by the world. Ken lived at Longleat for years under the protection of Lord Bath; and Frampton retired to a little cottage in the county of Gloucester, where he had been bishop. Gradually some, such as the notable layman Robert Nelson, the author of a famous book on the festivals and fasts, and Henry Dodwell, 'the greatest scholar in Europe,' returned to communion with the National Church before they

The nonjurors.

died; but the loss of such men as William Law was irreparable.

Deserted, then, by many of her best, the Church suffered greatly from controversies within and without. Of the effect of political strife the best example is to be found in the exile of Francis Atterbury, a brilliant scholar and preacher, who as Bishop of Rochester had been willing, on Anne's death, to proclaim her brother king as James III. and VIII. But religious strife was at least as serious. First there was the controversy within the Church, between High Churchmen and Latitudinarians, and next the controversy outside with the Deists and other anti-Christian writers. The chief internal controversy was that which occurred in consequence of the writings of Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, who denied the necessity of a visible Church or Church government. The Lower House of the Convocation in 1717 presented a report against these views addressed to the bishops. The ministry took the matter up as a political question, and did not again allow the Convocation to meet. By some extraordinary theory of the 'State in danger,' they were not allowed to meet for business until 1852. Shortly after this, the Acts of Anne's reign against occasional conformity and schism were repealed, and before long Atterbury, whom the Government had in vain attempted to buy over to their side, was proceeded against, deprived of his offices, and banished for life. Following on these events came the controversy on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. It may be thought to have been begun as early as 1685, when Bishop Bull's famous Defence of the Nicene Creed was published; but its bitterness began with the writings of William Whiston and of Samuel Clarke, who assumed an Arian position, denying the Divinity of our Lord. They were opposed by Dr. Waterland. The result was that while the orthodoxy of the Church was confirmed, the strong party of Arians or Socinians, calling themselves Unitarians, was formed in opposition to the Church.

The Bangorian controversy.

The Trinitarian controversy.

Outside, the Church found herself engaged in controversy with a school who endeavoured to destroy all belief in Revelation. They ranged in opinion from Tindal, who declared that 'the religion of Nature is absolutely perfect,' to Pope, who was a Roman Catholic, and they included the clever

The Deists.

politician and Tory leader, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. The controversy which their writings raised continued for many years, and caused the publication of many books famous in their day. But the chief service that it rendered was the production of a great writer who was also a good bishop.

Joseph Butler, Rector of Stanhope, and afterwards Bishop, first of Bristol and then of Durham, by his *Analogy of Religion* (1736) and Sermons, and by his zealous discharge of his duties as priest and bishop, did much to preserve for the Church the respect and devotion of the laity. But he will always be reckoned as the greatest opponent of the English Deists of his time. The Deists endeavoured to reduce religion to a vague belief in God or a code of respectable morality. Some of them lived upon the doctrines which they attacked and assumed as their own, or as the common products of human reason, moral principles which they derived from Christianity. Others were more fanatical, and were justly reproached with desiring to clear away everything which they called 'superstition,' and building nothing upon the vacant site. The number and popularity of Deistic books published in the first half of the eighteenth century proves how low was the estimate of religion among men of culture, and the boldness with which the Deists expected the fall of Christianity is a proof of their temporary success. Butler says, 'It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious.' The good bishop did a great deal towards dispelling the comfortable delusion of the Deists. But without a general revival of energy the Church must have sunk into utter decay.

Bishop Butler.

Side by side with Butler in the estimation of his age stood another philosopher-bishop, Berkeley, whose attack was levelled chiefly against the ignorance and moral weakness of the freethinkers.

With the exception of these two eminent prelates, and Warburton, who won fame as an Old Testament critic and a commentator on Pope, it is probable that no bishop of the reign of George I. or George II. would have been counted in other days as a notable man. The very prosperity of the higher clergy seemed to tell against them. While in Scotland the priest-

The bishops.

hood was a profession of perpetual danger, in England the Church was not persecuted, but every effort was made by those in authority to repress zeal, and the High Church party were generally treated as if they were disloyal. The bishops were often men of learning, but they were chosen generally for their services to the Government. Many of them but rarely visited their sees: Hoadly, the most prominent opponent of the High Church party, never visited his bishopric of Bangor during the whole time he held it. It was a period of much controversial writing, and of some sound moral teaching, but the enthusiasm without which religion is apt to lose all its power had almost ceased to exist. Walpole's aim, to keep things quiet, was followed in Church as strongly as in State. This showed itself inevitably in the outward life of the people. The public enthusiasm for the Church, so conspicuous under Queen Anne, was soon succeeded by at least a superficial coldness towards all outer manifestations of religious belief. Addison wrote that there was 'less appearance of religion in England than in any neighbouring state or kingdom'; and the French observer Montesquieu said that he was thought in France to have too little religion, in England too much, and that the subject was only greeted in this land with ridicule. If this was the outward appearance, the corresponding reality was that there was very little direct teaching of distinctively Christian doctrine, and that all display of religious emotion was discouraged. English sermons became destitute at once of doctrine and of wit; they were serious, reasoned, moral essays, often thoughtful, but generally dull. Writers of the time speak of an habitual neglect of public worship, and a growing disregard of the strict observance of Sunday.

The prevailing coldness.

Nowhere was the prevailing tone more patent than at the universities. The enthusiasm which had restored one Stewart and resisted another seemed to have sunk into a torpid defence of orthodox principles in politics and religion. Cambridge was regarded as Whig, Oxford as Tory; both were much affected by the writings of the Deists. The professors were content to teach as little as possible; and many of them in consequence gave no lectures. The college tutors rarely enforced upon their pupils any fixed course of study; and there were

The universities.

practically no examinations. The religious obligations of the place had become in most cases purely formal. Bitter quarrels kept up the claims of Jacobitism to be a surviving party. A shrewd observer, Gibbon, wrote thus of the college authorities when he was an undergraduate: 'Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal, while their dull and deep potations excused the intemperance of youth.' From such schools of learning came the clergy of the Church; and it is not to be wondered at that while they generally set the example of good morals and philanthropy they were deficient in self-sacrifice and devotion. At the best the religion of England was simple, humane, sincere; at the worst it was 'cold, selfish, and unspiritual.'

The ecclesiastical monotony of the reigns of the first two Georges, varied only by arid though not unnecessary controversies, was broken by two important events in the political world, and by an interesting series of negotiations with foreign Churches. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745, which pressed with terrible effect on the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, though they had little if any outward effect on the clergy in England, undoubtedly served to strengthen the tendency to leave things as they were, and to avoid all appointments which might serve, however slightly, to disturb the position of the Whig Government. The great writer and good churchman, Dr. Johnson, declared that 'no man can now be made a bishop for his learning and piety; his only chance of promotion is his being connected with some one who has parliamentary interest.' Thus the bishops as a class were men who might most fitly be compared to the prelates of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance; but while the latter were often intriguing, ostentatious, and greedy, the former were rather commonplace and comfortable. Instances of absurd display no doubt existed, as when it is said of Bishop Hurd of Worcester, whom George III. much respected, that 'Hartlebury Church is not above a quarter of a mile from Hartlebury Castle, and yet that quarter of a mile Hurd always travelled in his Episcopal coach, with his servants in full-dress liveries'; but more generally a bishop was content, like Newton of Bristol, 'to make a competent provision

Effects of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

The bishops.

for those who were to come after him, as well as to bestow something on charity.' But if the action of the Government thus tended to encourage an absence of vigour among the bishops, it must not be supposed that the faults were admitted. Dr. Johnson replied to a Presbyterian who criticised the dignitaries of the English Church : 'Sir, you know no more of our Church than a Hottentot.'

That the Church kept up its intellectual interests cannot be denied. Not only were the clergy among the foremost of the writers of the time, but the negotiations for reunion with foreign Churches throw considerable light upon the learning of the rulers of the Church. Early in the reign of George I. many learned clergy of the French Church became disturbed by certain pronouncements of the Pope, and entered upon a correspondence with Archbishop Wake of Canterbury concerning the terms on which union on Catholic lines was possible between the two National Churches. Wake stood up boldly for the position of the English Church : 'She is free, she is orthodox. She has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other Church to direct her what to retain and what to do.' Having thus clearly emphasised the principle of the English Reformation, he added advice to the French doctors with regard to their position towards the Pope, 'that they should go one step further than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority, so as to leave him merely a primacy of place and honour, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the imperial city.' Nothing came of the negotiations. Rome interfered, and the French clergy were not strong enough to resist. But Archbishop Wake had put forward a declaration of the lines upon which union would be possible, which represents the position on which the Church of England has always been willing to seek for union—the independence of National Churches, with a doctrinal agreement in 'all doctrines of any moment,' and 'for other matters to allow a difference till God shall bring us to a union in these also.' Another still more interesting attempt at reunion belongs to the history of the nonjurors and of the Scottish Church.

Archbishop Wake and the Gallican Church.

In the north the life of the Church in communion with England

was during the eighteenth century a prolonged tragedy. The toleration granted by Queen Anne did not last for long. After the rising of 1715 in favour of the Stewarts, in which it was believed that many members of the Church were implicated, an Act was passed making it penal for 'Episcopal ministers' to officiate unless they had taken the oaths to the Government, and in many cases where they were still in possession of parish churches they were turned out and imprisoned. At that time they were in a majority in Edinburgh, but the severe measures both now and after the rising of 1745 brought the Church almost to the point of extinction. Not only were many of the chapels burned, but an Act was passed which allowed licence to minister among the Episcopalians only to those who had been ordained by an English or Irish bishop, and gave the punishment of perpetual banishment on a second offence to any other priest who should perform service. The Government plainly intended to destroy the Episcopal Church by depriving it of a native priesthood. Her clergy were almost without exception high Tories, yet in opposition to the Government the 'Cameronians' (a sect against whom statesmen of the later Stewarts had been most severe) were not rarely found united with them. Yet the action of the State, guided by Scots Presbyterian nobles, cannot be regarded as purely political. The Scottish clergy were told that they would not be allowed to officiate unless they had taken oaths of allegiance to the Government; but if they were ready to take the oaths, they were informed that the law did not permit them to do so unless they had been ordained out of Scotland. The laity were included in the penal statutes. Any layman attending an illegal 'meeting-house,' and not giving information of the same within five days, was liable to be fined and imprisoned. If a peer were twice guilty of the offence, he could not be chosen a representative peer, and a commoner could not exercise the franchise. Every building in which nine or more persons assembled for worship was declared to be a 'meeting-house.'

The Church in Scotland.

Persecutions.

Various devices were employed for evading these cruel laws. In some places, as at Montrose, a building was erected with several rooms opening out from a central room, and five persons were

placed in each apartment while divine service was being conducted. Sometimes the congregations met in secluded places in the open air, or in a lonely cottage so situated as to afford equal opportunities for escape and for the observation of an approaching enemy. Presbyterian spies assisted the execution of the penal laws, and for many years the administrations of the Church were attended with great danger. The persecution only became successful by diminishing the supply of clergy. The people often had no liking for Presbyterianism, and as late as 1770 many hundreds came forward to be confirmed by Bishop Robert Forbes when he visited the dioceses of Ross and Argyll.

It is deserving of notice that in spite of the poverty of their surroundings, the Scottish Episcopalians were often more tenacious of ancient usages and belief than their English brethren. For instance, the sign of the cross was used in confirmation at a time when no bishop of the Church of England used such a ceremony.

Relations with the East.

Between the years 1716 and 1723 the Scots bishops, in close relation with the English nonjurors, entered into negotiations with the Orthodox Churches of the East, in Russia and Turkey, with a view to reunion. The proposed union was not effected. It served, however, to direct the studies of British scholars more to the ancient liturgies of the Church and to the noble history of the Eastern nations, firm in their adherence to Christ through centuries of persecution. The English Church in her Articles had carefully refrained from stating that the Church of Constantinople had ever fallen into error. But the negotiators did not adhere to this principle, and the immovable rigidity of the Eastern Churches prevented any agreement. A remarkable proof of Scottish sympathy with Catholic antiquity and the Eastern branch of the Church is to be found in the history of the Scottish Communion Office. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Scottish Episcopalians sometimes employed the English Book of Common Prayer, sometimes the Scottish Book drawn up in 1637. Some unfortunate disputes took place a few years later with reference to various liturgical prayers and ceremonial usages, such as the invocation of the Holy Spirit at the consecration of the Eucharist, and the mixing of water with the wine. An agreement was made

The Scots Communion Office.

in 1731. Soon afterwards, much was done towards a true understanding of the nature of Christian worship when the good and learned Bishop Rattray published *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem.* The final result of this and similar works was the issue of the Communion Office of 1764. This still remains the true and peculiar service of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. In its close adhesion to the form and spirit of the primitive liturgies it is unsurpassed, and its intrinsic beauty no less than its association with a pathetic history endears it to all whom it has taught to pray.

Not only did the Scots thus draw up a Communion Office, they made an important arrangement as to organisation. For some time there had been disputes as to whether in the depressed state of the Church it were better that the bishops should have dioceses assigned to them or should simply be members of an Episcopal college, with one of their number as Primus. In 1743 it was agreed that the dioceses should be retained, but that one bishop should regularly be elected as Primus. This rule remains in force, the ancient archbishoprics being in abeyance as regards their metropolitan functions.

Organisation of the Scots Episcopate.

While in Scotland their brethren were being exposed to a continual persecution, varying in intensity but never remitted, the English priesthood was producing a movement of evangelistic zeal which transformed the religion of the nation. The history of religion in England is a tale of perpetual revivals. The devout learning of Alfred's court, the vigour of the Normans, the fervour of the mendicants, the Reformers' zeal for truth, and Laud's love of reverence, all wrought great changes in the spiritual life of the English people. It was for the Wesleyan Methodists to begin a work as fruitful and as much needed. The religion of the first part of the eighteenth century was utterly incapable of appealing to the emotions or enlisting the passions in the support of good. Wesleyanism, starting from the simple rules of the Prayer Book, passed into missionary action amid an outburst of enthusiasm which bore down all obstacles and forced its way into many hearts that had long been closed to every impression of religion. No picture of the power of Christianity in past days is more pathetic than that of the miners listening to the

The Wesleyan revival.

appeal of the great Methodist preacher while the tears made white furrows down their blackened cheeks.

John Wesley, the founder of the movement, was born at Epworth Rectory in 1703. He was an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, and was ordained deacon in 1725 and priest in 1728 by Potter, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The advice given him by this worthy bishop formed the rule of his life: 'If you would do real good you must not spend your time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against vice, and in promoting real essential holiness.' Elected in 1726 a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1729, on his return to residence he joined a small club, of which his brother Charles was a member, who met together to read the Greek Testament. Their number increased to fourteen within the next six years; they became noticed, and they were nicknamed 'Methodists.' Their 'method' was that of the Church. They were exact in obedience to her rules of festival and fast, they received the Holy Communion frequently, they devoted all the time they could to visiting the poor. The ablest of their followers was George Whitefield (born 1714), a servitor of Pembroke College, Oxford. Born in a humble position, he was at first readily led by men of much greater attainments than his own; but his want of early training told in later years in the lack of discipline which became apparent as he became famous. In 1735 the society, so far as Oxford was concerned, broke up; and the two Wesleys went with General Oglethorpe, the philanthropic founder of Georgia, to help him in his work among the poor colonists. The missionary spirit was then happily warming the hearts of not a few English priests. Not long before this Berkeley (see p. 240) had gone to be a missionary near the river Hudson. Wesley's stay in Georgia was little more than four years. It was chiefly notable because it brought him under the influence of the Moravian sect, from whom he learnt the doctrine that it was necessary to feel the personal assurance of the forgiveness of sins in order to be right with God. This doctrine, derived from Luther's extravagant view of Justification, was preached by the Wesleys for some years with great force, and in connection with the equally exaggerated idea of instantaneous conversion. But in

The Oxford Methodists.

The life of John Wesley

his later years it was abandoned for a view more in accordance with the reason of man and the providence of God. 'Fifty years ago,' said John Wesley in his old age, 'we told the good people of England that unless they knew their sins were forgiven they were under the wrath and curse of God. The Methodists, I hope, know better now. We preach assurance, as we always did, as a common privilege of the children of God, but we do not enforce it under the pain of damnation denounced on all who enjoy it not.' It was from May 24, 1738, that John Wesley dated his assurance of his conversion to God; but for some time afterwards he still felt insecure and wrote that he was 'not a Christian.' Before long, however, his doubts were set at rest by the active work in which he was engaged. Before the year 1738 was ended he had begun a tour of preaching, going through all the country and preaching the Gospel to every creature. Joined in his work by his brother Charles and by George Whitefield, he travelled, during the fifty-two years he was engaged in preaching, sometimes alone, sometimes with others, about 225,000 miles, and preached more than forty thousand sermons. So strange did the passionate nature of the appeals addressed by these new preachers seem to the staid clergy of the day that they often found themselves excluded from the pulpits of the churches. Even at Epworth John Wesley was not allowed to preach in the church which had been his father's, but addressed crowds in the churchyard, standing on his father's tombstone. Soon the preachers found it necessary to build meeting-houses of their own in the towns; but from the first—and the custom is still kept up in many country districts where Wesleyanism follows the rules of its founder—the services were never held at an hour which would interfere with those held in the parish church. Soon, under the guidance of Whitefield, the Methodists began to preach in the fields, where thousands could gather to hear them. It was at first with great reluctance that John Wesley adopted this plan. He entered in his journal: 'March 31, 1739. Reached Bristol and met Mr. Whitefield there. I could scarcely reconcile myself at first to the strange way of preaching in fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday, having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I

George Whitefield.

should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church.'

The wave of enthusiasm soon carried him away. He repudiated the Moravians because of the strange scenes which accompanied their preaching and the excesses of their doctrine of justification; but as time went on his own preaching began to be attended by excitement as remarkable. His hearers became hysterical; supernatural gifts were claimed and special revelations affected. Wesley himself regarded this excitement with distrust, and Bishop Butler, with his calm wisdom and holiness, after advising him not to preach where he was not commissioned, said, 'Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelation and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing.' But Wesley's intense fire of conviction overbore all opposition. Having no definite parochial cure, he declared that the world was his parish. He believed himself to be following strictly in the way of the Church of England. He forbade his followers to form a separate body, and said again and again that he desired them not to leave the Church. ⌜At the very end of his life he solemnly recorded his opinion in these words: 'I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen. I do, and will do, all that is in my power to prevent such an event.⌝ Nevertheless, in spite of all that I can do, many of them will separate from it (although, I am apt to think, not one-half, perhaps not one third of them). These will be so bold and injudicious as to form a separate party, which, consequently, will dwindle away into a dry, dull, separate sect. In flat opposition to these, I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.'

Wesley and Bishop Butler.

Wesley and the Church.

And it was in accordance with these words that most of the bishops regarded him. Yet some attacked him violently for the nature of his teaching and its effects, utterly unable to understand the need of such 'enthusiasm' as it displayed. Others said that he was a saint, and almost to the very end of his life received him with the geatest courtesy and even reverence. His life was not only one of incessant activity; it was one of almost incessant

conflict. From the moment when the logic of Calvinism began powerfully to affect some of his followers he attacked it most violently, and a sad and bitter strife occurred between him and those, such as Whitefield and Toplady, who should have been his dearest friends. It was the same strife which had divided England in the days of Laud ; and Wesley, like Laud, was stigmatised by the Calvinists as an 'Arminian.' Only his magnificent power of organisation, which founded the society of Methodists, gave it its constitution, and kept it entirely obedient to himself, could have prevented the division occurring earlier than it did. That it did occur was due more than anything else to the ill-disciplined genius of George Whitefield.

Whitefield as a preacher.

Whitefield was a preacher superior even to Wesley. He had all the defects which too often spring from the temptations of a popular preacher. He was vain, hasty, exaggerated, indiscreet, and his knowledge of theology and his appreciation of the unity of the Christian revelation were alike deficient. But when this is said there remains nothing to be expressed but admiration for his holiness, his zeal, his beautiful love and self-sacrifice, his extraordinary power of arousing souls to the sense of sin and of the infinite compassion of God. He seemed absolutely unable to control himself when he preached. One of his hearers says that 'sometimes he wept exceedingly, stamped loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome that for a few seconds you would suspect he could not recover.' 'God,' he declared, 'always makes use of strong passions for a great work.' It was the power of these strong passions which he employed himself and aroused in others that made him the master of his audiences, whether they were composed of the poor and outcast or the cultivated and sceptical leaders of politics and fashion. If the opinions to which he became attached eventually separated him from the Wesleys, it was never by his wish that separation occurred. To the last he regarded the Wesleys with respect and love. When one of the Calvinists, to whom he had attached himself, asked him if he thought they should see John Wesley in heaven, 'I fear not,' he replied, 'for he will be so near the throne and we shall be at such a distance that we shall hardly get a sight of him.' He was 'a guileless, self-denying, but ill-trained and very injudicious

enthusiast,' and after separating from Wesley and being coldly treated by the bishops, he ended, though no doubt unintentionally, by founding the sect of Calvinistic Methodists.

Scarcely inferior to the influence exercised by the two great preachers was that of Charles Wesley, who, by his beautiful hymns, brought back love and zeal to the worship of thousands. He bitterly regretted some of the later acts of his brother and of the society to which he belonged.

Gradually the followers of Wesley adopted extreme views, such as the doctrine of the new birth (denying the Prayer Book teaching as to regeneration in baptism), and the necessity of personal and conscious assurance of salvation. But to the last, John Wesley, though he founded a society which was more and more estranged from the Church, was himself in intention always loyal to her. He did a work which no man before him since the thirteenth century had done in England. He revived the inspiration of personal piety throughout the length and breadth of the land, and he brought religion before men in a way in which it had long ceased to be brought. Force, reality, personal appeal, were the reasons of the great revival which, by the power of God, through the preaching of the Methodists, transformed the religion of the country.

The work of the Methodists.

John Wesley died in 1791, without consciously diverging from the teaching or the communion of the Church, save only in regard to the ministry. In 1784 he laid hands on two persons to act as bishops among the Methodists of America. Here, and in his later action, he separated from the Church. His brother Charles strongly disapproved of his conduct in the matter, and is said to have written the following lines :

> 'How easily are bishops made,
> By man or woman's whim !
> Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
> But who laid hands on him ?'

These later developments of the Methodists, which led inevitably to dissent, were strongly supported by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, an excellent but somewhat violent person, who founded a training college for ministers, and left her name

associated with the sect, which in 1741 had been formed by the Calvinists whom Whitefield took with him at his separation from the Wesleys.

When Wesley died, his work had reinvigorated the Church. A number of saintly men who shared his opinions, or who had been his associates, spread his teaching in the country. Among these were Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, Thomas Scott, Walker of Truro, Grimshaw of Haworth, Rowland Hill, Hervey, Romaine, Venn, Toplady, Perronet, John Newton, and Richard Cecil. Fletcher seems to have borne a character so beautiful as to have been quite beyond the praise of his contemporaries; Wesley long hesitated to describe him, but at last he consented to publish a sermon in which he said, 'So unblamable a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe or America.' By no means all these men agreed with Wesley. Toplady, dissatisfied with his rejection of Calvinism, called him 'the most rancorous hater of the Gospel system that ever appeared in this land,' moved 'by Satanic shamelessness and Satanic guilt,' while Rowland Hill described him as 'a venal profligate,' 'as unprincipled as a rook and as silly as a jackdaw.' In spite of such controversial excesses, the work of these men in raising the spiritual tone of the nation was very great. They were regarded as the leaders of a party in the Church which has ever since had great influence. The Evangelicals, as they were called, attached little importance to the history or traditions of the Church, and were strongly opposed to anything which in the least savoured of Rome. They laid greater stress on individual than on corporate religion, and they were apt to undervalue teaching which the Church of England had carefully preserved throughout the period of the Reformation. Of their philanthropic energy and religious zeal there could be, and can be, no doubt.

The Evangelical party.

Wesley's work not only stirred up the Church to new life and created a distinct party within it, but it gave new vigour to the older dissenting sects, such as the Independents or Congregationalists, and after his death created a new sect, which contrary to his earnest prayers separated from the Church and became known as the Wesleyans.

The schism and its causes.

We should not adequately grasp the history of the English Church if we did not understand how it was that from the work of a man so loyal in intention as John Wesley a sect came to be established which has unhappily become in some respects hostile to the Church of England. First, it may be said that the leaders of the Church hardly knew how to use the power of the Methodist preachers. No better proof of the change which has occurred in consequence of the work of the revival can be found than the fact that the very word 'enthusiasm,' used when they began to preach as a term of reproach, is now regarded as describing an indispensable requisite of the Christian priest. But it was this need which the rulers of the Church could only very dimly perceive. They were far from intending to condemn the work of the Wesleys, but events moved too quickly for them, and there was not among them a mind capable of controlling the leaders of the great movement. But the very nature of the Wesleyan Society led inevitably to dissent. Partly by the fault of others, partly by his own, Wesley constantly set at naught every Church authority : and what he did, certainly without meaning it, was done, without thinking of it, far more constantly by Whitefield. The Society from the first admitted dissenters among its members. It was inevitable that, as time went on, this should lead to its own separation from the Church. But more vital still was John Wesley's action in 1784 ; and of that no better account could be written than that of his brother Charles. 'I can scarcely yet believe it,' he wrote the year after to a clergyman in America, 'that in his eighty-second year, my brother, my old intimate friend and companion, should have assumed the episcopal character, ordained elders, consecrated a bishop, and sent him to ordain our lay preachers in America. I was then in Bristol, at his elbow ; yet he never gave me the least hint of his intention. Lord Mansfield told me last year that ordination was separation. This my brother does not and will not see ; or that he has renounced the principles and practice of his whole life ; that he has acted contrary to all his declarations, protestations, and writings ; robbed his friends of their boasting, and left an indelible blot on his name as long as it shall be remembered.'

Wesley's ordinations.

Lord Mansfield and Charles Wesley saw what has ever been the

unalterable principle of the Church of England, her adherence to the apostolic ministry. Ordination meant separation: John Wesley ordained, and his followers inevitably separated.

The effects of this separation were felt, perhaps more strongly than anywhere else, in Wales. From the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of the Church in Wales is in many respects sad to read. It was ruled from time to time by great bishops, and often by Welshmen, but on the whole it fell notably behind England. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a contemporary says that 'in many churches there was no sermon for months together; in some places nothing but a learned English discourse to an illiterate Welsh congregation.' The Hanoverian kings did much to weaken the hold of the Church upon the people. Anxious to have the country entirely under their control and free from all danger of Jacobite risings, they filled all the appointments in their hands with Englishmen whom they could trust. This policy continued long after the real or fancied necessity for it had ceased. From 1727 to 1870 not a single bishop of S. Asaph could speak sufficient Welsh to confirm in that tongue. From 1750 to 1795 it is said that no bishop of that see ever resided in his diocese for more than a month or two in the summer. The Episcopal patronage was largely bestowed on the English kindred of the bishop. A still greater cause of the inefficiency of the Church was the extreme poverty of the parochial clergy. Wales never recovered the robbery that accompanied the Reformation, and perhaps its poverty was worst in the eighteenth century.

The Welsh Church in the eighteenth century.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that Wales was profoundly affected by the Methodist movement. That movement assumed in Wales a special character, as it blended with a somewhat earlier wave of revival, begun by the great preacher Griffith Jones (1684-1761), a priest of the Church, who preached throughout the whole principality and founded a famous system of circulating schools. Wesley and Whitefield both preached in Wales, and Lady Huntingdon there set up her college. But the greatest leaders of the Methodists were Daniel Rowlands, also a

The leaders of revival.

Griffith Jones.

priest of the Church, whose splendid zeal and eloquence had an enormous influence, but from whom the Bishop of S. David's, with almost incredible folly, withdrew his licence to preach, and Howell Harris, a layman of very extreme views but admirable courage and consistency. The acceptance of Calvinistic views by some of the more enthusiastic leaders tended inevitably to separation from the Church, but to the end of the century and beyond it, the Welsh Methodists remained members of the Church. In 1801 they issued a declaration saying, 'We do not intentionally dissent, nor regard ourselves as dissenters from the Established Church. It is not our purpose to create a schism or a party, God forbid.' But doctrinal principles opposed to the ancient teaching of the Church, however unconscious the opposition of those who hold them, tend inevitably to separation. That separation came in Wales as in England. Bitterly as it must be mourned, it could hardly perhaps have been avoided.

Daniel Rowlands.

Howell Harris.

At the end of the last century the Church in Scotland seemed to be at a low ebb. 'I am a member of the suffering and Episcopal Church of Scotland, the shadow of a shade now,' are words which the greatest of Scottish writers, himself a member of the Church, puts into the mouth of one of his characters. The poverty of the Church may be illustrated by the fact that in 1783 a worthy priest sent to Bishop Petrie a gown which had belonged to his predecessor, humbly regretting that he had not a piece of cloth which would make it long enough to 'sit decently' on its new owner. In 1777 the Scottish bishops promised to take care of the 'orphan' survivors of the English nonjurors. In Scotland the work of Wesley was not fruitful. He preached there several times and founded congregations, but little came of it. It is sad to think that his fatal mistake of making a bishop for America might never have been committed if he had only waited a few weeks for the action of the Scots bishops. He professed to feel the great need of Episcopal supervision for those lands. The Scots bishops supplied it. It came about thus. In spite of repeated efforts made to obtain a bishop for America, the English Government had steadily refused consent, with the result that the population was drifting

The Church in Scotland.

into Methodism or indifference. After the separation of the United States from England in 1783, the clergy of Connecticut applied to the English bishops for the consecration of Dr. Samuel Seabury, who had been chaplain of an American regiment in the British service. The bishops felt unable to dispense with the oath of royal supremacy which Seabury, as a citizen of a now independent State, obviously could not take. In this dilemma, Dr. Seabury was advised by a young Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Martin Joseph Routh, to make an application to the Scottish bishops. An agreement was first arranged 'between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church of Connecticut.' Then on Sunday, 14th November 1784, Dr. Seabury was consecrated in an upper room in Bishop Skinner's house in Aberdeen. He was heartily welcomed in America, where his devotion to Catholic truth and order were of inestimable service. He was vigorously opposed to the shallow scepticism which had begun to threaten the American Church, and immediately tried to consolidate the Church's organisation. He also induced the American churchmen to accept the Scottish Communion Office as the basis of their own liturgy, and thus effected for the worship what he effected for the federation of the Church in America.

Consecration of Bishop Seabury.

After 1788, when Prince Charles Edward died, the Scots clergy ceased to be nonjuring, and took the oaths to George III. In 1792 the penal laws against the priests were at last removed, but still they were not allowed to minister in England. The end of the century saw the ministry sadly diminished, and the number of members of the Church proportionately decreasing; but the journal of Bishop Robert Forbes of Ross and Caithness, who died in 1775, shows how actively the work of the Church was kept up in the north, and with what faithfulness her ministrations were welcomed. In 1770 he confirmed near Inverness over a thousand persons. In 1798, in the united parishes of Daviot and Dunlichity, Strathnairn, there were four hundred and thirty 'of the communion of the Episcopalian Church of Scotland who have a chapel for themselves in the parish.'

At the close of the eighteenth century our review of the work

of the Church must show us the sad failures and deadness of spiritual life which marked so much of her history between the death of Anne and the French Revolution. It is a failure which has been attributed to the dread of 'anything like the worship of God in the beauty of holiness, on the one hand, from fear of Romanism, and of all stirring appeals, on the other, from fear of a revival of the Puritan rule.' Both these feelings found expression in the terrible form of 'restoration' which during this age began to mutilate our churches. The great work of Wren fell into the hands of successors who fancied that there could be no better act than to translate the architecture of the past into the style of the Classic Renaissance. A writer at the end of the century indignantly declared that 'in every corner of the land some unseemly disguise, in the Roman or Grecian taste, was thrown over the most lovely forms of the ancient architecture.' The destruction of the Civil Wars, often left unrepaired, at length required urgent treatment, bnt the 'repairing' of churches became in the hands of architects such as Wyatt, whose handiwork still remains at York and Durham, the means of creating a barbarous style of sham-mediæval which has left sad traces over the land. That many of the most beautiful remains of ancient times were whitewashed was not perhaps wholly a misfortune. In some cases at least it preserved what would otherwise have been destroyed.

The churches in the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century was the age of pews as well as of whitewash. Though they began before the Reformation—Sir Thomas More refers to them with his sharp wit—they did not become indispensable features of divine worship till the reign of George I. A comfortable pew was suited both to the style of dress of the period, which indisposed the wearer for a position of reverence, and the style of sermon in vogue, which predisposed the listener to quiescence. 'Gloomy little cells, planned by the spirit of aristocracy,' as a literary lady called them, filled the naves of the churches, and it was generally necessary to erect galleries to accommodate more people, for much room was lost by the system of 'pewing.' At Gloucester it is said that in the cathedral church, which had been whitewashed largely through the help of a Mrs. Cotton, she was suffered to have 'just by the

Pews.

high altar a small pew hung with green damask, with curtains of the same, and a small corner cupboard painted, carved, and gilt, for birds, in one corner.' To the comfort of the pew the churches added the dignity of the 'three-decker' pulpit. The parish church at Whitby still exactly represents the common features of an eighteenth-century church. The poor, it must be added, were too often banished to the back of the church, to uncomfortable benches and to distant aisles. The taste of the age was entirely against symbolic decoration. Sir Christopher Wren had designed to adorn the dome of S. Paul's with mosaic. He was not allowed to begin the work. A poet prophesied, rightly as our age has shown, that in time to come it would be different:

> 'Thy dome, O Paul, which heavenly views adorn,
> Shall guide the hands of painters yet unborn.'

On the other hand, attempts were made to revive the art of painting on glass, and though Sir Joshua Reynolds's famous windows at New College, Oxford, are not considered to be successful works, they are certainly exceedingly beautiful.

The observance of Lent, and especially of Holy Week, which became lax during the early part of the nineteenth century, was on the whole kept up throughout England till that time, and so to a considerable degree was the obligation of the fasts and festivals of the Prayer Book. So strong an intellect as that of Dr. Johnson was notable in adherence to such rules. The daily services were also well attended, especially in the large towns, and special services marked the holy seasons. Complaints were common in bishops' charges of the rare celebration of the Holy Communion. The number of communicants too was much less than in the seventeenth century: the worst depth of laxity ever reached was probably the Easter communion of 1800 at S. Paul's, when Bishop Tomline recorded that 'no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord.' Confirmation seems, owing to the vast size of the dioceses and the difficulty of travelling, to have scarcely been more commonly given than in the Middle Ages. Public penance was still occasionally performed. It was one of the earliest memories of the poet Wordsworth to have seen, about 1777, a woman

The church services.

doing penance in a white sheet. Generally, discipline was lax, and even the work of Wesley did not tend to any great degree to the more strict observance of the Church rules which he himself always obeyed. The standard of clerical life was not high, but there were many noble examples of good work among the clergy.

The eighteenth century, as a whole, cannot be said to have been one of spiritual effort; but it should not be forgotten that it saw the beginning of several movements which bore fruit later, and enjoyed the teaching of many men whose principles have since been worked out to the enduring benefit of the Church. Even in the years of least enthusiasm there was much sober piety. At the beginning and at the end of the century the sovereigns were sincerely religious, and gave steadfast example of devotion to their duty as they understood it. Literature had many followers who were not ashamed of their Christian profession. Charity in many forms was active, even where faith seemed for a time to sleep.

CHAPTER VI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the later years of the eighteenth century, and for the first twenty years of the nineteenth, the Evangelicals were the most prominent members of the Church in England. They founded the Religious Tract Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society. Warmly supported by rich families like the Gurneys and Buxtons, and championed in the House of Commons by the saintly statesman, William Wilberforce, the bosom friend of the Prime Minister, Pitt, they won the abolition of the slave-trade, and eventually, in 1833, the abolition of slavery itself in all British possessions. The last great name belonging especially to their party is that of Charles Simeon, for many years a devoted parish priest and a Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, who died in 1836, and who had had for over fifty years a commanding influence on the religion of Cambridge, and had trained hundreds of ministers in the Church to reflect his pious life and his semi-Calvinist opinions. Simeon and his friends were firm in their adherence to the Church. He strongly opposed the doctrines of instantaneous conversion and of perfection, but none the less, under the influence of this party, the Church was tending during the period to adopt opinions which had been in abeyance since the seventeenth century. After his death a 'trust' was formed to perpetuate his memory by securing the patronage of benefices which were to be bestowed only on clergy of Evangelical principles. The Simeon trustees have remained a powerful force till to-day.

The Evangelicals.

The life of the Evangelicals of the time was a very simple and

beautiful one. Cowper, the poet of the party, who lived for some time under the influence of John Newton, a converted slave-dealer, then vicar of Olney, records that when he resided at Huntingdon (1765-1767), the family with whom he lived 'read either the Scripture or the sermons of some faithful preacher of those holy mysteries' for two hours in the morning before 'divine service, which is performed here twice a day'; after a mid-day dinner, religious conversation followed till tea-time, and after supper the evening was finished 'either with hymns or a sermon, and last of all the family are called to prayers.' Such rules obtained in many of the 'serious' families of the next thirty or forty years, and the influence of their quiet, sober lives was considerable. Theologically, the school of Newton, Romaine, and Scott traced its descent through Wesley and Whitefield to the Puritan divines. It was devoted to the study of the Bible and keenly interested in the work of foreign missions and of education. The weakness of its system of belief was apparent when it became the most prominent school of religious thought. It tended to lay too much stress upon feeling, and thus the profession of religion became comparatively easy. But its true followers always retained their firm principles and strict life. 'For the first thirty years of this century,' says a great living historian and bishop, who can remember the effects of that time, 'all the popular religion ran in this groove: exposed to much obloquy from the enemies of religion, but ending in making its way and working out some great results.'

The poet Cowper.

The work of the party in the first thirty years of the century may be best illustrated by the names of John Venn, Hannah More, and William Wilberforce. The first was rector of Clapham, and a very famous preacher. Round him circled a company of laymen, wealthy merchants and others, among them Lord Teignmouth and Lord Dartmouth and the rich banker, John Thornton, who became known as 'the Clapham sect.' Touching them on the social as well as the religious side was the famous writer, Miss Hannah More. She was a clever, kindly woman, who not only wrote plays and novels but homely religious tracts, which were widely circulated and read by those who 'would hardly read anything of a religious kind not written by her.' She wrote always as a churchwoman, and she

The Clapham sect.

Hannah More.

thought that the Church did not need reforming nearly so much as obeying.

> 'Nor do I think our Church wants mending;
> But I *do* think it wants attending,'

was a popular distich from her hand. For over fifty years she exercised a real influence for good upon her generation. She had been a friend of the High Churchman, Dr. Johnson, and she lived almost to the beginning of the new High Church movement, but she belonged herself rather to the party on whom the Evangelical influence was the strongest. William Wilberforce was a statesman and a lifelong friend of William Pitt, but his chief energies were given to the cause of religion and philanthropy. His *Practical View of Christianity*, published in 1797, set before the nation a strong appeal to a religious life, and a clear account of the defects of the religion of the day. But his great work was the arousing the conscience of the nation to the horrors of the slave-trade and the evils of slavery itself. Beloved by all who knew him, 'his mind strung to a perpetual tune of love and praise,' he devoted his life to the cause of Emancipation. His bill for the abolition of the slave-trade was thrown out in 1791 : a month after his death (July 29, 1833) the bill for the abolition of slavery became law. His work is the most prominent instance of the success of an agitation for political change won solely through argument on religious and philanthropic grounds. To the same period belonged other good men interested in religious work, and notably Joshua Watson, who did a splendid work on behalf of the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Archbishop Manners-Sutton of Canterbury (1755-1828) relied greatly upon his advice, and the founding of many new church societies and of the colonial Episcopate was largely due to him. A writer of great force was Alexander Knox, who moved away from the Evangelicals because he thought that their teaching tended to depart from that of the Prayer Book, which was his test of the faith : he went beyond them in recognising the ancient teaching of the Church as to the Holy Communion as 'the connecting link between earth and heaven, the point where our Redeemer is vitally accessible, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

William Wilberforce.

Joshua Watson.

The power of the Evangelical revival had been greatly strengthened by the opposition to the doctrines of the French Revolution which from 1789 spread like a prairie fire over Europe. Those doctrines, levelled in the first case against corrupt governments and an unworthy priesthood, took in many places, notably in France, the form of a complete rejection of Christianity. There was not a little in the state of England from 1790 to 1835 which afforded a favourable soil for the growth of similar opinions. It was very largely due to the consistent work, missionary and philanthropic, of the Evangelicals all over England, that this danger was avoided. On the other hand, the theory of the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture and the Calvinistic opinions, more or less modified, taught in many of the Evangelical schools, tended to bring about a conflict in later years between the scientific investigators of the day and a large party in the Church who, like the monks before the Reformation, had utterly failed to keep abreast with the new learning or to adapt the truths newly discovered to those always held by the Church.

Effects of the Evangelical movement.

The Evangelical revival had had, among others, this marked effect. The clergy were no longer believed to be attached to one particular party in the State. The bishops were now again chosen from among Tories as well as among the Whigs, and among the parochial clergy were men of very different opinions. Dr. Parr, the learned scholar, who was for so long vicar of Hatton in Warwickshire, said, 'I hope, sir, that you think our Church established would not be the worse for a little republicanism.' On the other hand, the literary circle of the Lake poets, with Southey and Wordsworth as the leaders of a school of thinkers profoundly religious in their views of life, were led into Conservatism by disgust at the crimes of the French Revolution.

At the time of the death of Wilberforce, though the Church had escaped the dangers which had overwhelmed religion in France, she was in a position which was regarded by acute observers as extremely critical. The universities were only very slowly awakening from the torpor of the last century. They were but little stirred by the realities of religious enthusiasm. A religious conformity was exacted,

Critical position of the Church.

but it was too often cold and lifeless. The clergy in general were not men of high enthusiasm, but rather of secular if not worldly habits. The old tradition of classical scholarship was strong, and very many of the clergy were real scholars. Others mixed freely in the country life of amusement and sport, were welcome on festive occasions, but were not touched by missionary zeal. It is the inevitable result of a successful movement to enlist many whose hearts do not really answer to its teaching: and thus the Evangelicalism of not a few of the English clergy was only superficial. All these things were dangers, and the Liberalism which came prominently forward about the year 1830 seemed inclined to take up a position of definite hostility to the Church.

When the Whigs came into power at the death of George IV. the bishops were warned by Lord Grey to 'set their house in order.'

Need of reform.

And indeed the riches of some of the Church appointments, most unfairly distributed, was a grave scandal with which it was certain that the State must deal. It seemed probable that legislation would sever all connection between Church and State, in other words, that there would be disestablishment, *i.e.* the degradation of the Church of England from the position in which she had been established since the beginning of her history. In 1811 had come the serious disruption which was the foundation of the strong sectarianism of Wales. The Methodist Connexion in that year ordained its own ministers and ceased to receive the sacraments from the Church. It was an important event, and it was characteristic of the breaking of old ties, which had become not uncommon in England itself. The dissenters had become a strong political party. Eminent men, like the noble-hearted head-master of Rugby, Dr. Arnold, whose influence changed the whole theory of English education, thought that desperate measures were necessary. 'The Church,' he wrote in 1832, 'as it now stands, no human power can save,' and he advocated in a pamphlet on *The Principles of Church Reform* the admission of all dissenters to the Church without any surrender of their distinctive views, and with permission to hold their own services in the parish churches. Other schemes as unpractical as this were suggested: but it was not on such lines that Church reform was destined to proceed.

In two ways the Church was now brought into touch with the needs of the age—the first was by parliamentary legislation, the second by a religious movement as important as that inaugurated by Wesley.

The Whigs of 1832 looked upon the Church as an institution for promoting the public welfare and for checking crime: they did not enter at all closely into the truth of her historical position or her spiritual claims. Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative leader, had a somewhat higher view, and it was to him that the Church owed the rearrangement of her revenues which had become a necessity. In 1834 he declared that 'if by an improved distribution of the revenues of the Church, its just influence can be extended and the true interests of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be made subordinate to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance.' A Royal Commission was appointed to 'inquire into the Revenues and Patronage of the Established Church of England and Wales.' It reported in 1835 that the greatest inequality existed in the endowments of particular benefices. The bishopric of Durham was worth over £19,000 a year, but some other sees had less than £1000. Some parishes were of enormous extent; a few had very large endowments, but many were extremely poor. The cathedral chapters were in many cases in urgent need of reform. The anomalies of the ecclesiastical organisation, in fact, were not unlike those of the unreformed system of parliamentary representation. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1836 which rearranged the boundaries of some of the dioceses, and set up an Ecclesiastical Commission with charge of sundry financial matters affecting the Church. New bishoprics were created for Manchester and Ripon. It was at first proposed to unite the sees of S. Asaph and Bangor, and to take the revenues of the former for the endowment of Manchester, but, chiefly through the strenuous opposition of the Earl of Powis, this project was defeated.

Redistribution of revenues.

These important changes, followed up in future years by much useful work done by the Ecclesiastical Commission, suggested still greater alterations with regard to the cathedral chapters. Bishop Blomfield of London, a man of strenuous activity, suggested the

abolition of a large number of cathedral offices, and was so far successful as to procure the application of all their revenues to other Church purposes. By these changes a clear distinction was made, in almost all the chapters, between the few canons who were bound to residence at stated times and received salaries in proportion to the endowments of the cathedral, and the many canons or prebendaries whose duties were hardly more than nominal, and whose position was honorary. But for the strenuous opposition which the proposed changes received from such men as Dr. Pusey, the distinguished Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, they would undoubtedly have been carried much further, and the cathedral organisation would have ceased to be the centre of the work of the dioceses. At that time they were in urgent need of some alteration. 'For learning,' wrote an eminent canon of S. Paul's at a later day, 'they were doing little ; for the spiritual wellbeing of the people, still less. Their daily services were scantily attended ; their vast naves were only regarded as galleries of art. Friends and foes alike spoke of them as the chosen homes of dignified leisure, in which poetry and archæology, rather than anything directly bearing on the moral and spiritual life of the Church of Christ, were a first consideration.' But Dr. Pusey pointed out that the cathedral chapters had 'been the nurseries of most of our chief divines, who were the glory of our English name : in them these great men consolidated the strength which has been so beneficial to the Church.' Further consideration made views such as these generally accepted, and till 1851 no further changes were made in regard to the cathedral chapters.

The cathedral chapters.

While changes such as these were effected or contemplated, the position of dissenters from the Church was relieved from all the severe restrictions of the seventeenth century. In 1828 both the Test Act and the Corporation Act (see pp. 220-221) were repealed, and thus it was shown that the nation no longer wished to be governed solely by members of the National Church. In 1838 the Tithe Commutation Act was passed, which fixed the sum to be paid in tithe on the average price of corn for seven years. Compulsory church rates also, which had become very unpopular, were abolished. Measures such as these,—and they were followed up during the next half-

Removal of restrictions on freedom.

century,—were intended to remove all causes of complaint against the position of the Church. They were aided by the work of the Liberal party in the Church, men filled with a noble desire for the removal of all barriers against religious freedom.

Dr. Arnold, head-master of Rugby, was a great power as a teacher, and he represented the Latitudinarian (now called Broad Church) party, which was represented a century before by Tillotson and Burnet. His influence was very widely felt, and there were at the universities many men of learning and power who admired the Church as established, and were anxious to open her doors as widely as possible. Of Oxford it is said that 'the true revolutionary spirit was already there, though it had not yet taken the precise direction which it afterwards did.' Indeed it was not the work of the Liberal party which was to recall the Church to duties she had neglected and doctrines she had ignored.

Dr. Arnold.

From Oxford, soon after the second quarter of the nineteenth century had begun, came a new movement. For some years there had been a strong literary interest in the romantic past of the races which inhabited Great Britain. History and poetry, largely under the guidance of the noble and inspiring work of Walter Scott, had caused many to consider the days of old and to see if it were not possible to revive their enthusiasms and adapt them to the needs of modern times. It became the fashion to find in the past a life more simple, generous, beautiful, and Christian than any of which the nineteenth century could afford example: and this noble, if often fanciful, reconstruction of the past led men to work for a reconstruction of the present. Walter Scott, with a full recognition of all that was good in mediæval Catholicism, combined a firm attachment to the Scottish Church, of which he was a member. He saw her weakness, but he loved her memories, and he did not despair of her future.

Sir Walter Scott.

Sad though the condition of the Scots Church was, she had preserved the teaching of the great divines of the seventeenth century, which had been almost forgotten in England. The reverence for antiquity preserved in Scotland, and represented by the greatest of her writers, was no doubt one of the causes which led Englishmen at length to

The old High Church party.

revive ancient principles and recover the teaching of the undivided Church. But there was a permanent influence in the English Church which tended in the same direction. The school of opinion which came to be called 'high and dry' inherited the traditions of Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor and Ken. It had been continued throughout the eighteenth century by writers such as Jones of Nayland, originator of the *British Critic*, and its principles were represented in many a country vicarage. At the universities the massive learning of the venerable Dr. Routh (1755-1854), President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who kept Laud's *Devotions* always at hand on his table, preserved the tradition of the Caroline divines; and it was represented also to some extent by the publication of such magazines as the *British Critic*, whose principle it was to maintain the ancient constitution in Church and State against all that savoured of republicanism or sceptical dissent. It needed only a breath of life to kindle the dry embers into flame.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

If the study of the past thus aroused men to look closely at, and to learn from, the history of the Church, the new school of philosophy, of which Coleridge was a prominent representative, induced a serious investigation of the philosophic aspect of Christianity. Coleridge was 'a great force in making men dissatisfied with the superficiality so common a hundred years ago in religion as in other matters; and in this, if in no other way, he prepared the English mind to listen to the Oxford teachers.'

The beginnings of the Oxford movement.

In 1827 John Keble, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, published *The Christian Year*, a volume of poetry for the Church's seasons and services. It represents the feeling of the loyal children of the English Church as closely as does George Herbert's *Temple*, and it expresses the same principle of adherence to the laws of the English Church, and explanation of them by ancient custom and primitive teaching. Side by side with the great work which the popularity of Keble's book effected in familiarising men's minds with the full doctrines of the Church stood the studies in ancient liturgies of William Palmer (*Origines Liturgicae*, 1832) and others. Other notable leaders were Edward Bouverie Pusey, Regius Professor of

Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, John Henry Newman, Fellow of Oriel and vicar of S. Mary's, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, son of the famous statesman, Hugh James Rose, rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, a Cambridge scholar, and Richard Hurrell Froude, a brilliant but erratic genius, to whom the mediæval Church seemed to have left all its principles and many of its practices enshrined in the English formularies, and to whom the word Protestant, which the Prayer Book studiously ignored, seemed to represent only a bitter attack on all that was valued by the ancient and Catholic Church. The birthday of the movement, as Newman always afterwards declared, was July 14, 1833, when Mr. Keble preached before the university of Oxford a sermon, which was published under the title of 'National Apostasy.' It was directed against the recent attacks on the Church, to which the Government in many instances seemed to have weakly yielded. It was a solemn assertion of the spiritual position of the Church, and a protest against the theories which would bind religion by fetters riveted by the State.

Keble, indeed, was the real leader of the Oxford movement. 'His powerfully constructive mind,' wrote Dr. Liddon (*Life of Pusey*, vol. i. p. 271), 'grasped from the beginning the strength of the Anglican position as opposed to Protestantism and Rationalism, as well as to the yet unappreciated power of Romanism. He saw, as he stated in one of the earliest Tracts, that the Apostolical Succession was the essential bond, recognised by sixteenth and seventeenth century divines, associating the English Church through Reformation and papal dominion, with that primitive Catholicism in which the Anglicans laid their foundations, and to which they had always appealed.'

In the autumn of 1833 an 'Association of Friends of the Church' was formed. In February 1834 an address was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by seven thousand clergy. It was intended to show the real strength of the Church in face of the political attacks upon her which were feared. 'At a time,' said the address, 'when events are daily passing before us which mark the growth of latitudinarian sentiments, and the ignorance which prevails concerning the spiritual claims of the Church, we are

Address to the Archbishop, 1833.

especially anxious to lay before your Grace the assurance of our devoted adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church over which you preside, and of which we are ministers; and our deep-rooted attachment to that venerable liturgy in which she has embodied in the language of ancient piety the orthodox and primitive faith.' A similar address avowing a firm determination to maintain the Church 'in the integrity of her rights and privileges, and in her alliance with the State,' was signed by two hundred and thirty thousand heads of families, and presented to the archbishop. A similar address was presented to King William IV., who publicly expressed his strong attachment to the Church.

The first step in the movement was the publication of a series of 'Tracts for the times on the privileges of the Church and against Popery.' The objects of the tracts thus named were wholly spiritual. Their teaching centred round the doctrine, which it seemed to many had been of recent years ignored, of the Holy Catholic Church.

Tracts for the Times.

The first aim of the Tractarians (as they came to be called) was to vindicate the belief of the Church in absolute religious truth. They raised a protest by their lives and by their writings against the shallow views which endeavoured to take from religion all belief in the supernatural, and to discourage adherence to the ancient doctrinal standards and organisation of the Church. The tracts were first of all directed against the indifferent, and secondly they were intended to represent the true teaching of the English Church 'as opposed to Popish and Protestant dissent.' At first popular, they soon became also appeals to the learned, and they included a long series of references to the standard divines of the English Church, thus showing that the views they were urging had always been held by orthodox writers, and had the full sanction of the Church. Thus it was that the work of the Oxford movement linked itself to the teaching of the seventeenth century. Keble and Newman and Pusey, Isaac Williams, Hugh James Rose, Walter Farquhar Hook, Richard William Church, and many others 'were filled with a deep feeling of the importance and the wide consequence of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Catholic

Their Aims.

Church. It was this that linked them to the great English divines. It was this which gave the extraordinary motive force to the movement which they began. As conversion, assurance, and individuality were the powerful and appealing principles of the Evangelical revival, so the sense of inheritance and of communion in one historic body belonged to these Tractarians.'

The external history of the movement can be briefly told. It was bitterly opposed in Oxford, and as each doctrinal declaration of Mr. Newman or Dr. Pusey appeared, and was based on the teaching of the ancient Fathers of the Church, it was denounced by those to whom it was unfamiliar as if it were alien to the teaching of the English Church. A strong feeling was aroused against the writers. Dr. Arnold accused them of being 'idolators.' The Liberal or Broad Church party regarded them as 'Romanising'; and the Evangelicals, though willing to work with them in many points, shared the same suspicion. On the other hand, as the tracts spread they were warmly welcomed, and men of the old High Church school, such as Dr. Hook of Leeds, carried their principles into action in their devoted parochial work.

History of the movement.

But in 1841 came a crisis. Newman wrote Tract XC., in which he argued that the Thirty-nine Articles do not contradict the decisions of the Council of Trent. Four Oxford tutors, one of whom, Archibald Campbell Tait, became in 1868 Archbishop of Canterbury, issued a protest against the tract. Treated by those in authority with strange harshness, Mr. Newman, the most beautiful and inspiring preacher of his age, gradually felt the ties which bound him to the National Church to be loosening, began to distrust her history and her doctrine, and finally passed over into the Church of Rome (1845). His secession was followed during the next twenty years by many others, the most important being that of Archdeacon Manning. But the main body of the Tractarians stood firm. The massive learning of Dr. Pusey, the poetic genius of Mr. Keble, the wide sympathies and wisdom of Dean Church, carried on the power of the movement to our own day.

The crisis of 1841.

Manning's secession did not occur till 1851. During all these years the position of Dr. Pusey was difficult and painful. He was

suspended from preaching by his university for a sermon on the Holy Eucharist, for which he was able to produce abundant warrant in classical English divinity. Mr. W. G. Ward was censured by the same body for a somewhat extreme 'Ideal of a Christian Church,' and only by the courage of the two proctors, Mr. Guillemard and Mr. Church, was the university saved from the folly of a formal condemnation of Tract XC. But while Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble held firmly to their position, and supported it by calm and learned utterances, the feeling of the country became gradually more and more apparent. It was seen that the English Church, though she might for a time seem to have forgotten some doctrines always held by Catholics, had never abandoned them, and that there was always room in her fold for men to whom these doctrines appealed with all the power that comes from the knowledge of the historic past. The holy lives, stern, strict in observance of all the Church's rules, but beautiful and kindly in their simplicity, of the leaders of the Oxford movement, won their way to the hearts of men, and gradually influenced many who were by no means ready to accept all their teaching.

The movement in Oxford.

Religious energy revived on every side. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, made the Episcopate a great force in the religion of the country. Missions were started, to awaken the careless. The religious life in communities was revived for women and for men with results of untold value. The Church reasserted her corporate life. Her Convocations again by royal licence resumed their sessions. Her missions all over the world increased beyond all expectation. Her bonds of union with the Church in the Colonies, in America, and Scotland became closer, and were strengthened by conferences of bishops at Lambeth, the last of which met in 1897.

Signs of new life.

Each of these points will bear illustration. Bishop Wilberforce had all the charm of his noble father, and more than his ability and wit. He determined to revive the true idea of the office and work of a bishop. 'According to him the bishop was to be as much the mainspring of all spiritual and religious agency in the diocese as a parochial clergyman is bound to be in his parish.' He carried out this

Bishop Wilberforce.

aim with marvellous energy. Not only did he make himself known in all parts of his diocese, and actively engage in every good work, in the conduct of missions, in the direction of sisterhoods, in numerous confirmations, but he was famous for his eloquence in Parliament and for his power in Convocation, which in 1852, largely through his influence, received licence again to use its old powers. No less was he active in forwarding missionary work in the colonies and in heathen lands. He was not a learned man, and certainly he did not fail to make mistakes, but he was the greatest prelate of his day, and a devoted servant of Jesus Christ. His work extended from 1845 to 1873, when he was killed by a fall from his horse, and during nearly thirty years he made vivid before the world the all-embracing claims of the Church to guide and strengthen every side of human life. By no means always favourable to the leaders of the Tractarian movement, his influence was yet in the main wholly on the side of the great Catholic principles which they had revived, and his memory will be preserved, with that of Dr. Hook, and men of greater knowledge and wider views, such as Richard William Church, Dean of S. Paul's (who died in 1890), as notable for the combination of a piety which was evangelical with an adherence to the ancient theological standards of the Church, and a deep sympathy with the varying needs and claims of modern life.

Missions of the Church.

Of the marvellous growth of English missionary effort outside Great Britain it is impossible to speak here in any detail. From the consecration of Bishop Seabury in 1784 the growth of a colonial Episcopate was for a long time very slow. In 1787 the first English colonial bishop was consecrated to the see of Nova Scotia. In 1793 the see of Quebec was founded, but that of Newfoundland not till 1839. In 1814 Thomas Middleton was consecrated first Bishop of Calcutta. In 1824 the bishoprics of Jamaica and Barbados were founded. In 1836 a bishop was first sent to Australia. In 1847 Bishop Gray took charge of the see founded at Cape Town. From that time to this, largely through the great work of the three great societies—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Church Missionary Society—new bishoprics have been founded almost yearly. Not till well-

nigh the end of the eighteenth century was the Church of England able to enter upon her missionary vocation. Since then she has been steadily advancing. The most extensive work has been done by the Church Missionary Society in every quarter of the globe; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with less resources, has been a noble rival in the work. The constantly enlarging field occupied by these societies and by special missions shows the real, though as yet sadly inadequate, efforts made by the English people to spread the knowledge of Christ wherever the English race can penetrate. In spite of misrepresentation due to ignorance and prejudice, the work of English missionaries is being recognised to be of the highest value to civilisation and progress, and the Church at the end of the nineteenth century is called upon to feel her very first and greatest duty to be to make a new attempt for the evangelisation of the world. In England itself there is still sad need for the work of conversion; but that need does not hinder the work outside our little island. That the British empire is the largest Mohammedan power in the world is not a reproach but a call to renewed activity in Christian preaching. That India is ours, that new responsibilities are forced upon us in Africa, China, and North America, emphasise the call. From every quarter of the globe there is a cry for new missionaries to offer to the heathen the glorious liberty of the Gospel of Christ. And, slowly though it be, the cry is being answered. Already Central Africa, China, Japan, are traversed by English missionaries under Episcopal rule, and the Church of England has become the mother of Churches in America, in Australia, in the Colonies and Dependencies, and beyond the limits of British conquest or influence. To the last conference of bishops in communion with her at Lambeth, in 1897, no less than two hundred and forty-seven bishops were summoned; and it seems probable that before long, in the providence of God, this number will be largely exceeded.

The Gorham controversy.

While the Church was thus growing in the sense of her vast responsibility and in power to meet it, she was not without difficulties both at home and abroad. From 1847 to 1851 a controversy raged upon the doctrine of Holy Baptism. A Mr. Gorham had been refused institution to a benefice by the

learned and able Bishop Philpotts of Exeter on account of his disbelief in the Catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The matter came finally before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. To this body an Act of Parliament had transferred the powers of the Court of Delegates, set up by Parliament in Henry VIII.'s time as a court of appeal. At a time when little attention was paid to Church principles, the unconstitutional infringement of the rights of the Church was unheeded. It was to be the fruitful cause of much contention in later years. In 1850 the Judicial Committee declared that it had no jurisdiction in matters of faith, but ruled that the views of Mr. Gorham were no bar to his institution. The result of the decision was to alarm many who fancied that through her connection with the State the Church was committed to it, and eventually a number of English clergymen seceded to the Church of Rome, among them Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Henry Edward Manning (see above, p. 271), the second a very eminent preacher, long noted for his violent opposition to the papal claims.

The Gorham controversy was not the only storm which vexed the English Church. In 1860 a volume of *Essays and Reviews* was published by some distinguished clergymen. Some of the essays were hardly open to criticism, but others were both rash and ignorant incursions into matters with which the writers were incompetent to deal. The speculations thus freely uttered caused serious agitation, and the book was very generally condemned. A generation later it was forgotten, nor would it be now remembered but for the fact that the writer of the first essay, very different in tone from the rest, is now Archbishop of Canterbury. Perhaps more serious still was the dispute in South Africa, due to the publication of an attack on the credibility of the Pentateuch by Bishop Colenso of Natal. He was excommunicated by the metropolitan of South Africa, Bishop Gray of Cape Town, and this action received the approval of the Convocation of Canterbury. A schism was created in his diocese which is hardly healed to-day.

'Essays and Reviews.'

As the Tractarian movement spread, its later developments were met by a revival of the old Puritan protest against the ancient doctrines. In 1856 the case of Archdeacon Denison, in 1871 that

of Mr. Bennett of Frome, were argued in the State courts, but left the Church's teaching untouched. When the historical studies of the age led to the revival of the vestments ordered by the 'Ornaments rubric' of the Book of Common Prayer as revised in 1662, a bitter opposition was aroused. It was thought by the extreme opponents that this revival tended towards an acceptance of Roman doctrine, whereas it was intended only to emphasise the adherence of the English Church to the position which she has always maintained, of loyalty to the teaching of the primitive and Catholic Church. Again and again Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and their followers had to contend earnestly for the ancient faith. In 1867 a number of clergy put forth a declaration of belief in the Church's doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Holy Communion, adding, 'We repudiate the conception of the mode of His Presence, which implies the physical change of the natural substance of the bread and wine, commonly called transubstantiation.'

Attacks on the High Church party.

Against the emphasis thus laid upon doctrines which Dr. Pusey showed to be held by the ancient fathers and the classic writers of the English Church, there were many who gave at least a silent protest. The revived school of Latitudinarians flourished and was especially popular among those connected with Germany, where the widest views of Christian expansiveness were held. At Oxford, Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, exercised a great influence in favour of the most liberal opinions; in London, a power as great was possessed by Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster. Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, the first as a thinker, the second as an enthusiastic champion of goodness and popular claims, stood on the fringe of the Latitudinarian party, but were profoundly affected by the sense of corporate life, belonging to the historic Church and embodied in the historic creeds of Christendom.

The Broad Church party.

Thus step by step the Church made progress, through many difficulties. In Scotland the Tractarian movement was represented by Bishop Forbes of Brechin, whose position was often a painful one, but who nobly and loyally served the Church. Bishop Wordsworth of S. Andrews was fired with the noble aim of reuniting the bodies which had been severed at the Revolution

of 1688, but no certain basis of union has as yet been found. In England an agitation against the revived ceremonial led to the passing by Parliament of a Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874. This was strongly opposed by prominent men of both political parties who were conversant with Church history, such as Mr. Gladstone and the Marquess of Salisbury; but it had the support of the devout philanthropist, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who belonged to the Evangelical school, and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait. The archbishop, brought up in early life as a Scots Presbyterian, had, like most Scotsmen, never been able to fully understand the history or appreciate the very marked national characteristics of the English Church. Coercion in religious matters, by whatever party it has been carried out, has always failed in England, and the Public Worship Regulation Act, after causing the imprisonment of five clergymen who were unable conscientiously to obey the decisions of a lay court, has been allowed practically to become obsolete. Archbishop Tait before his death turned for the settlement of difficult questions to more peaceful methods. His wise successor, Edward White Benson, did much to promote harmony as well as to encourage missionary enterprise. More recently still, the present archbishops, Frederick Temple and William Dalrymple Maclagan, have shown a determination to preserve to the Church the settlement of her own affairs, by consenting to advise on questions submitted to them by the bishops, in accordance with the directions of the Book of Common Prayer.

The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874.

If the development of ceremony in the services of the Church, and the increased sense that the worship of God demands the highest gifts of the human mind and of human culture, to make the sanctuary of God fulfil its purpose of glory and of beauty, are outwardly the visible signs of Church progress to-day, the lives of thousands of self-sacrificing priests in vast towns and in quiet country places are the best witness that her work is going on in accordance with the commands of her Divine Master.

Parish work.

The more than sixty years in which Queen Victoria has given a noble example of a life devoted to religion and duty, have seen

an extraordinary expansion in the work of the English Church and the ideals of her clergy. In spite of signs from time to time of ignorant fanaticism, true charity has been steadily growing.

Comprehensiveness of the Church.

Through all, the wide comprehensiveness of the Church is happily to be recognised. While some, living lives of eminent holiness and self-sacrifice, have revived Catholic usages which had been forgotten, and have insisted on the observance of the rules of the Prayer Book in their integrity, including the rubric as to the ornaments of the Church and of the minister, others have upheld the Evangelical principles of personal responsibility and the free salvation of Christ, and others have wished to throw open the doors of the Church as widely as possible to admit any who in whatever sense called upon the Name of the Lord Jesus. Historically, it is necessary to note the existence of these three schools—of the Broad Church, with Arnold and Stanley and Jowett; of the Low Church, with Simeon and Melvill and Villiers; of the High Church, with Pusey and Keble and Hook. But the influence of each school has been constantly commingled, as may be seen in the teaching of Maurice and Robertson and Kingsley and Church; and the revival of spiritual energy in the Church is due to the work, separate and combined, of all three.

Dr. Pusey.

When the history of the Church in our day comes to be written, there are many names of which it is now impossible to speak which will stand out boldly as ensign-bearers among the people. The noble steadfastness of Dr. Pusey, who during nearly sixty years of literary activity contended earnestly for the faith, will always be remembered. Born in 1800 he died in 1882, and when he died his work had made sure the claims of the English Church, which during the early years of the century had seemed in danger of being forgotten, to preserve the whole faith and the whole discipline of the primitive days. He was a man of dauntless courage, patient hopefulness, and boundless charity, and Dean Church, who spoke of those qualities in his character, added words which are a true memory of his great services to the Church: 'All who care for Christ's religion, all who care for the Church of God, even those who do not in many things think as he thought, will class him among those who in difficult and anxious times

have witnessed by great zeal, and great effort, and great sacrifice, for God and Truth and Holiness; they will see in him one who sought to make Religion a living and mighty force over the consciences and in the affairs of men, not only by knowledge and learning and wisdom and great gifts of persuasion, but still more by boundless devotedness, by the power of a consecrated and unfaltering will.'

The great work which was done by Dr. Pusey in ministering to the necessities of individual souls, in guiding sinners back into the paths of holiness, and in supplying doubters with firm principles to confront the attacks of unbelief and of the Roman Catholic emissaries, who (under the guidance of Wiseman and Manning, to whom in turn the Popes gave the title of Archbishop of Westminster) poured into England, was of incalculable value. From him, as from many other thinkers of different schools of thought, English churchmen learnt to receive the discoveries of science and criticism with a full confidence that the Holy Spirit, through whatever strange ways, would guide the Church into all the Truth. Spiritually, work such as Dr. Pusey did has been done in thousands of parishes, not only by those who accepted his principles, but by others who could not appreciate the full truths which he taught; and the memory of many devoted priests will be linked to his when he is remembered as the greatest churchman of his day.

Among great missionaries the memory will always abide of Charles Alan Smythies (1844-1894), Bishop of Zanzibar, to whom the Universities' Mission to Central Africa owes its wonderful extension, a veritable hero among men; of John Coleridge Patteson, who in 1861 began a great work in Melanesia, and was martyred in 1871; of his successor, John Selwyn, great as an inspirer of missionary effort when he returned to England as Bishop of Lichfield; and of James Hannington (1844-1885), who, after three years' work in Africa, gave up his life for Christ. And the revival of the 'religious' profession among men, living by strict rule and engaged in missionary and educational work, will always be associated with the name of Richard Meux Benson, than whom no man has ever done a more notable work for the Church of God in England and where the English go.

Some great missionaries.

From the spiritual we must pass to the material aspect of the Church's life. At Truro a new cathedral, of which the nave has still to be built, marks the creation of a new see; at Bristol the restoration and completion of the old cathedral preceded the revival of the old see as a separate bishopric. Everywhere the last half-century has been marked by an extraordinary access of church building and church restoration, to meet the evergrowing needs of a rapidly increasing population. Without a genuine style springing from the genius of the people, modern architects have been compelled to rely upon the ingenious use of the principles of the mediæval work. The result has often in new building been successful, but the revival of interest in church architecture, which began about the same time as the Oxford movement, has led too often, under the name of 'restoration,' to the most deplorable defacement of ancient buildings which can never be replaced.

Church building.

But work such as this is evidence at least of active interest in all that belongs to the Church; and as the years have gone on, the knowledge of the past has become wider and more intelligent. The English Church has contributed to the learning of the Church Universal the work of Joseph Barber Lightfoot (Bishop of Durham, 1879-1889), of William Stubbs (Bishop of Chester, 1884, of Oxford, 1889), and of Brooke Foss Westcott (Bishop of Durham, 1890), whose names are worthy to be placed among those of the greatest of the long line of scholars whom England since the Reformation has produced.

Learned bishops.

The last thirty years of the century have shown the Church apparently often to be in danger. While she has been setting herself with renewed energy to her great task of the conversion of men, she has been exposed, largely through the necessities of political parties, to some severe attacks. It has become the declared object of several prominent politicians to sever the connection which has been established from her earliest history between the Church and the State. In 1893 the Government of the day passed a bill through the House of Commons to suspend the creation of all new interests in the Church in Wales, with a view to Disestablishment (the severing of the connection between Church and State) and Disendowment

Political attacks on the Church.

(the confiscation of the property of the cathedrals and parish churches). The bill was rejected by the House of Lords, and the general election of 1895 showed that the country was not prepared to accept such measures. But the danger has not ceased, and the disagreement between different sections of opinion within the Church seems to some to invite what would be a grievous disaster to the whole nation. Still the energy of the Church has by no means relaxed.

In Wales the political attack upon the Church, which took advantage of the strong national feeling of the dissenting bodies, has been met by a remarkable extension of church work, by the restoration of the beautiful cathedrals through the generosity of churchmen, and by a renewed interest in the historic and continuous life of the Church. The Welsh Church.

It is to her historic life that the Church to-day appeals with a confident humility. The links remain unbroken. She retains to-day her historic constitution and to a great extent her ancient geographical arrangements. She is governed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and by thirty-three diocesan bishops, who are assisted by seventeen suffragan or assistant bishops. Under these are the archdeacons, ninety in number, each bishopric being divided into archdeaconries, and each archdeaconry into rural deaneries, of which there are eight hundred and ten : the unit of ecclesiastical organisation is the parish, of which there are about fourteen thousand in England. Constitutionally, the Church is an Estate of the realm, whose bishops sit in the Upper House of Parliament (not all now sit ; since the increase of the Episcopate only twenty-four bishops besides the archbishops sit in the House of Lords), and whose members generally act through the two ancient Convocations of Canterbury and York. By rule, which has obtained at least since the time of Edward I., if not much earlier, the Convocations are composed of the archbishops and diocesan bishops, the deans and archdeacons, and representatives from each cathedral chapter and from each diocese, elected from different divisions according to ancient rules. The Convocations, with licence from the crown, may pass canons, which are binding on the clergy, but which need the sanction of Parliament to be binding on the laity. Organisation of the Church.

Geographically, the boundaries of the rural deaneries are the oldest surviving divisions of England, and the divisions of most of the dioceses belong to a period before the union of England under one crown. The new sees when created have as far as possible followed the ancient local divisions. Truro, founded in 1876, revives the old bishopric of the Cornish folk. Manchester, Liverpool, Wakefield, Bristol (the last revived in 1897), mark the growth of new urban populations.

Church revenues.

While the population has increased enormously in the present century, the income of the Church has diminished. In 1835 there were about 11,000 parishes, of which there were over 1600 worth less than £100 a year: now there are about 14,000, and in half of these the income of the incumbent is less than £130. In spite of the poverty of the clergy and the want of adequate endowments (for even the salaries of the bishops no more than suffice to pay the necessary demands of their positions), the amount collected for philanthropic, educational, and missionary work reaches an immense sum annually.

The Church in Scotland.

The Church in Scotland, in full communion with the English Church, stands in a different relation to the State. She is not nationally or officially recognised. Since the Revolution of 1688 Presbyterianism has been the established religion of that country. But the Episcopal body retains its hold on those who revere the ancient order, and increases its claims upon the love and devotion of the people. Her organisation is, in relation to the State, entirely voluntary, and the powers of the bishops and positions of the clergy are secured only as other corporations are secured. In 1864 some of the last disabilities were removed by Parliament from the bishops and clergy. The Church has seven bishops, holding ancient sees, about three hundred and forty clergy, and the number of laity belonging to her communion is about a hundred and twenty thousand.

Corporate life.

Successful efforts have been made during the last fifty years to increase the outward expression of Church feeling and the sense of corporate life. In Scotland the laity have large powers over Church finance and assist freely in matters of organisation; and the Episcopal and Provincial Synods have full authority over the Church. In England cor-

porate life has shown itself in such gatherings as Diocesan Conferences and Church Congresses, through which the feeling of churchmen on matters of religious and social interest is made known. Convocation, too, since its sessions have been resumed, has watched over the progress of the Church and done much useful work. A House of Laymen, representative of the different dioceses, has been added to the Convocation of each province.

Legislation and the courts.

During the nineteenth century a series of Acts has been passed by Parliament opening the ancient universities to dissenters from the Church, and allowing dissenting ministers and others to conduct Christian or orderly services in the churchyards. The law courts have from time to time been concerned with questions of doctrine and ritual, with results satisfactory to no one, and the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 is generally regarded as an injudicious interference with the freedom of the Church. An enlarged freedom of self-government and a reconstituted system of ecclesiastical courts are clearly the needs of the present day.

Of the grave dangers that still beset the Church nothing shall be said, for we read the past very faultily if we do not learn to trust implicitly in the providence of God. That the Church no longer even seems to exercise any oppressive authority over the people, that all religious bodies are absolutely free from her control or from any restriction from the State, have been among the most prominent works of the century that is now ending. But most important of all is the new life which has come into the Church through the guidance of bishops, the sacrifice of clergy, the devotion of religious, the loyalty of lay folk. When we look back over the centuries of Church history in our land, we may indeed thank God and take courage. The Scottish Church has advanced side by side with the English, and they confront the difficulties of the future in cordial union.

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	Augustine . . . 597		Mellitus 604
	Laurentius . . . 604		
	Mellitus 619	Paulinus 627	(*See vacant* 38 *years.*)
	Justus 624	(*See vacant* 30 *years.*)	
	Honorius . . . 627		
	Deusdedit . . . 655		
		Chad 664	
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	Berchtwald . . . 693	Bosa (*restored*) . 691	Ingwald 706
		John of Beverley 705	Eggwulf 745
	Tatwine 731	Wilfrid II. . . . 718	Sigheah 772
	Nothelm 735		Aldberht 774
	Cuthberht . . . 741	Ecgberht 733	Eadgar 783
	Bregowine . . . 759		Ceonwalh . . . 791
	Jaenberht . . . 766	Ælberht 767	Eadbald 794
		Eanbald I. . . . 780	Heathoberht . . 794
	Æthelheard. . . 798	Eanbald II. . . . 796	Osmund 802
Egbert 827	Walfred 805	Wulfsige 812	Æthelnoth . . . 811
Ethelwulf . . 839	Feologild. . . . 832	Wigmund . . . 837	Coelberht . . . 824
Ethelbald . 858	Ceolnoth 833	Wulfhere . . . 854	
Ethelbert . 858			Deorwulf . . . 860
Ethelred . . 860	Æthelred . . . 870		Swithwulf . . .
Alfred . . . 871	Plegmund . . . 890	Æthelbald . . . 895	Ælfstan 898
Edward (*El.*) . 901	Athelm 914		Wulfsige 898
Athelstan . . 925	Wulfhelm . . . 923	Rodewald . . . 928	Heahstan . . .
Edmund . . 940	Odo 942	Wulfstan I. . . . 931	Theodred . . . 926
Edred . . . 946			Wulfstan . . .
Edwy 955		Oskytel 958	Brithelm . . . 953
Edgar. . . . 958			Dunstan 959
	Dunstan 960	Oswald 972	Ælfstan 961
Edward (*Mtr.*) 975	Ethelgar 988		
Ethelred II. . 979	Sigeric 990		
	Ælfric 995	Aldulf 992	Wulfstan II. . . 993
Ed. Ironside . 1016	Alphege 1005	Wulfstan II. . . 1003	Aelfwin 1004
Canute . . . 1017	Lyfing 1013		Ælfwig 1014
Harold I. . . 1035	Æthelnoth . . . 1020	Ælfric. 1023	Ælfweard . . . 1035
Hardicanute . 1040	Eadsige 1038		
Edward (*Cn.*) . 1042	Robert 1051	Kinsige 1051	Robert 1044
Harold II. . . 1066	Stigand 1052	Ældred 1061	William 1051
William I. . . 1066	Lanfranc. . . . 1070	Thomas I. . . . 1070	H. de Orivale . . 1075
William II. . 1087	Anselm 1093	Gerard 1100	Maurice 1085

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Henry I. . . . 1100	Ralph d'Escures . 1114	Thomas II. . . . 1109	R. de Beames . . 1108
	Wm. de Corbeuil 1123	Thurstan . . . 1114	Gilbert Universalis 1128
Stephen . . . 1135	Theobald . . . 1139	S. William of Yk. 1142	R. de Sigillo . . 1141
		Henry Murdac . 1147	R. de Beames . . 1152
Henry II. . . 1154	Thomas Becket . 1162	S. William (*rest.*) 1153	
	Richard 1174	R. Pont l'Evêque 1154	G. Foliot . . . 1163
Richard I. . . 1189	Baldwin 1185		Richard Fitz-Neal 1189
John 1199	Hubert Walter . 1193	G. Plantagenet . 1191	W. de S. Marie
	Stephen Langton 1207		l'Eglise . . . 1199
Henry III. . . 1216		Walter Gray . . 1214	E. de Fauconberg 1221
	Richard le Grant 1229		R. Niger 1229
	Edmund Rich . . 1234	Sewall de Bovill . 1258	F. Bassett . . . 1242
	Boniface 1245	Geoff. de Ludham 1258	H. de Wengham . 1259
		Walter Giffard . 1266	H. de Sandwich . 1263
Edward I. . . 1272	Rbt. Kilwardby . 1273	Wm. Wickwane . 1279	J. Chishull . . . 1274
	John Peckham . 1279	John Romanus . 1286	R. Gravesend . . 1280
	Robt. Winchelsea 1294	Hy. de Newerk . 1298	
		T. Corbidge . . . 1300	R. Baldock . . . 1306
		Wm. Greenfield . 1306	G. Segrave . . . 1313
Edward II. . . 1307	Walter Reynolds 1313	Wm. de Melton . 1319	R. Newport . . . 1317
	Simon of Meopham 1328		S. Gravesend . . 1319
Edward III. . 1327	Jno. Stratford . 1333		R. Bintworth . . 1338
	T. Bradwardine . 1349	Wm. la Zouch'. . 1342	R. Stratford . . 1340
	Simon Islip . . . 1349	John Thoresby . 1352	M. Northburgh . 1354
	Simon Langham . 1366		S. Sudbury . . . 1362
	Wm. Whittlesea . 1368		
	Simon Sudbury . 1375	Alex. Neville . . 1374	W. Courtney . . 1375
Richard II. . . 1377	Wm. Courtenay . 1381	Thomas Arundel. 1388	R. Braybroke . . 1381
	Thomas Arundel. 1396	Robert Waldby . 1397	R. Walden . . . 1405
Henry IV. . . 1399	Roger Walden . 1398	Richard Scrope . 1398	N. Bubwith . . . 1406
	T. Arundel (*rest.*) 1399	Henry Bowet . 1407	R. Clifford . . . 1407
Henry V. . . 1413	Hy. Chicheley . 1414		J. Kemp 1423
Henry VI. . . 1422		John Kemp . . 1426	W. Grey 1426
	John Stafford . . 1443		R. Fitz-Hugh . . 1431
	John Kemp . . . 1452		R. Gilbert . . . 1436
	Thos. Bouchier . 1454		T. Kemp 1450
Edward IV. . . 1461		William Booth . 1452	
Edward V. . . 1483		Geo. Neville . . 1464	
Richard III. . 1483		Lawrence Booth . 1476	
Henry VII. . . 1485	John Morton . . 1486	Thos. Rotherham 1480	R. Hill 1489
	Henry Dean . . 1502		T. Savage . . . 1496
	Wm. Warham . . 1503	Thos. Savage . . 1501	W. Warham . . 1502
			W. Barons . . . 1504
		Chris. Bainbrigg . 1508	R. Fitz-James'. . 1506
		Thomas Wolsey . 1514	C. Tunstall . . . 1522
	Thos. Cranmer . 1533	Edward Lee . . 1531	J. Stokesley . . 1530
		Robt. Holgate . 1545	E. Bonner . . . 1540
Edward VI. . . 1547			N. Ridley . . . 1550
Mary I. . . . 1553	Reginald Pole . . 1556	Nicholas Heath . 1555	E. Bonner (*rest.*) . 1553
Elizabeth . . 1558	Matthew Parker . 1559	Thomas Young . 1561	E. Grindal . . . 1559
		Edmund Grindal 1570	E. Sandys . . . 1570
	Edmund Grindal 1575	Edwin Sandys . 1577	J. Aylmer . . . 1577
	John Whitgift . 1583	John Piers . . . 1589	R. Fletcher . . . 1595
		Matthew Hutton 1595	R. Bancroft . . 1597
James I. . . 1603	Rich. Bancroft . 1604		R. Vaughan . . 1604
		Tobias Matthew 1606	T. Ravis 1607
	Geo. Abbot . . . 1610		G. Abbot . . . 1610
		Geo. Mountain . 1628	J. King 1611

Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Archbishops of York.	Bishops of London.
Charles I. . . 1625		Sam. Harsnett . 1628	G. Mountain . . 1621
		Richard Neile . . 1632	W. Laud 1628
	William Laud . . 1633	John Williams . 1641	W. Juxon . . . 1633
(Interr.) . . . 1649	(*See Vacant.*)	(*See Vacant.*)	
Charles II. . . 1660	Wm. Juxon . . . 1660	Accepted Frewen 1660	G. Sheldon . . . 1660
	Gilbert Sheldon . 1663	Richard Sterne . 1664	H. Henchman . 1665
	Wm. Sancroft . . 1677	John Dolben . . 1683	H. Compton . . 1675
		Thos. Lamplugh . 1688	
James II. . . 1685			
William III. . 1689	John Tillotson . 1691	John Sharp . . . 1691	
Anne 1702	Thos. Tenison . . 1695		
George I. . . . 1714	William Wake . 1715	Sir Wm. Dawes . 1714	J. Robinson . . 1714
		L. Blackburne . 1724	E. Gibson . . . 1723
George II. . . 1727	John Potter . . 1736	Thos. Herring . . 1743	T. Sherlock . . . 1748
	Thos. Herring . . 1747	Matthew Hutton 1747	T. Hayter . . . 1761
	Matthew Hutton 1757	John Gilbert . . 1757	R. Osbaldeston . 1762
George III. . . 1760	Thos. Secker . . 1758	R. H. Drummond 1761	R. Terrick . . . 1764
	Frederick Cornwallis 1768	Wm. Markham . 1777	R. Lowth . . . 1777
	John Moore . . 1783		B. Porteus . . . 1787
	Chas. M. Sutton . 1805		J. Randolph . . 1809
		E. V. V. Harcourt 1808	W. Howley . . . 1813
George IV. . . 1820	William Howley . 1828		C. J. Blomfield . 1828
William IV. . 1830			
Victoria . . . 1837	John B. Sumner . 1848	Thos. Musgrave . 1847	
	Chas. T. Longley . 1863	Chas. T. Longley 1860	A. C. Tait . . . 1856
	Archd. C. Tait. . 1868	Wm. Thomson . 1863	J. Jackson . . . 1869
	Edw. W. Benson . 1883	Wm. C. Magee . 1891	F. Temple . . . 1885
	Frederick Temple 1899	W. D. Maclagan † 1891	M. Creighton . . 1896

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